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CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS



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CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PUBLICATIONS, VOLUME 35

Proceedings for the Years 1953-54



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1955

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PROCEEDINGS FOR THE YEARS 1953-54

LIST OF OFFICERS FOR THESE TWO YEARS

President: Hon. Robert Walcott

Vice-Presidents: Miss Lois Lilley Howe

Mr. John W. Wood

Mr. David T. Pottinger

Treasurer: Mr. John T. G. Nichols

Curator: Mrs. Laura Dudley Saunderson

Secretary: Mrs. Rosamond Coolidge Howe

Editor: Mr. John R. Walden

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

The foregoing and the following:

Miss Penelope B. Noyes

Mr. Dudley Clapp

Miss Katharine F. Crothers

Mr. Conrad Wright

Mrs. Anna Davenport Holland

OFFICERS, 1905–1955

All dates are inclusive. From 1905 through 1922 the election of officers took place at the October meeting of the Corporation. There was no election in the calendar year 1923. Beginning in 1924 the election has been held at the January meeting. Many of the following names appear in more than one of the lists, according to changes in designated offices.

HONORARY PRESIDENT

Robert Walcott 1955–

PRESIDENT

Richard Henry Dana 1905–1914

William Roscoe Thayer 1915–1920

Ephraim Emerton 1921–1927

Robert Walcott 1928–1954

David Thomas Pottinger 1955–

VICE-PRESIDENT

*Thomas Wentworth Higginson 1905–
1911*

Alexander McKenzie 1905–1908

Archibald Murray Howe 1905–1916

Andrew McFarland Davis 1908–1920

Edward Henry Hall 1911–1912

William Roscoe Thayer 1912–1915

*Worthington Chauncey Ford 1915–
1924*

Hollis Russell Bailey 1916–1919

Henry Herbert Edes 1919–1922

Mary Isabella Gozzaldi 1920–1935

William Coolidge Lane 1922–1931

Robert Walcott 1925–1927

Stoughton Bell 1928–1933

Joseph Henry Beale 1932–1942

Frank Gaylord Cook 1934–1943

Lois Lilley Howe 1936–

Samuel Atkins Eliot 1943–1950

Leslie Talbot Pennington 1944

Edward Ingraham 1945

Bremer Whidden Pond 1951–1952

John William Wood 1951–

David Thomas Pottinger 1953–1954

Penelope Barker Noyes 1955–

SECRETARY

<i>Frank Gayord Cook</i> 1905-1909	<i>Walter Benjamin Briggs</i> 1928-1930
<i>Francis Hill Bigelow</i> 1909-1910	<i>Bertram Kimball Little</i> 1931
<i>Clarence Walter Ayer</i> 1910-1911	<i>Eldon Revare James</i> 1932-1942
<i>Arthur Drinkwater</i> 1911-1912	<i>David Thomas Pottinger</i> 1942-1943; 1948-1952
<i>Albert Harrison Hall</i> 1912-1916	<i>Bremer Whidden Pond</i> 1944-1947
<i>Samuel Francis Batchelder</i> 1916-1927	<i>Rosamond Coolidge Howe</i> 1953-

TREASURER

<i>Oscar Fayette Allen</i> 1905-1907	<i>George Grier Wright</i> 1922-1928
<i>Henry Herbert Edes</i> 1907-1919	<i>Willard Hatch Sprague</i> 1929-1937
<i>Francis Webber Sever</i> 1919-1922	<i>George Arthur Macomber</i> 1938-1940
<i>John Taylor Gilman Nichols</i> 1941-	

EDITOR

<i>David Thomas Pottinger</i> 1929-1940	<i>Charles Lane Hanson</i> 1941-1951
<i>John Reed Walden</i> 1952-	

CURATOR

<i>William Roscoe Thayer</i> 1905-1907	<i>Edward Locke Gookin</i> 1916-1918; 1919-1922
<i>Clarence Walter Ayer</i> 1907-1913	<i>William Coolidge Lane</i> 1918-1919
<i>Albert Harrison Hall</i> 1913-1916	<i>Walter Benjamin Briggs</i> 1922-1943
<i>Laura Dudley Saunderson</i> 1944-	

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

All the preceding officers were also, concurrently, members of the Council.

<i>Edward John Brandon</i> 1905-1908	<i>Edward Henry Hall</i> 1908-1911
<i>Henry Herbert Edes</i> 1905-1907	<i>Francis Hill Bigelow</i> 1910-1911
<i>Mary Isabella Gozzaldi</i> 1905-1920	<i>Frank Gaylord Cook</i> 1911-1933
<i>Albert Bushnell Hart</i> 1905-1908	<i>Samuel Francis Batchelder</i> 1912-1916
<i>William Coolidge Lane</i> 1905-1917; 1920-1922	<i>Richard Henry Dana</i> 1915-1922
<i>Alice Mary Longfellow</i> 1905-1924	<i>George Hodges</i> 1916-1919
<i>William Roscoe Thayer</i> 1907-1912	<i>Fred Norris Robinson</i> 1916-1924
<i>Hollis Russell Bailey</i> 1908-1916	<i>Stoughton Bell</i> 1920-1927
	<i>Joseph Henry Beale</i> 1922-1931

OFFICERS

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<i>Robert Walcott</i> 1922-1925	<i>Maude Batchelder Vosburgh</i> 1936-1949
<i>Edward Waldo Forbes</i> 1925-1926	<i>Elizabeth Bridge Piper</i> 1937-1942; 1944-1946
<i>Clarence Henry Poor</i> 1925	<i>Leslie Talbot Pennington</i> 1941-1943
<i>John William Wood</i> 1925	<i>Allyn Bailey Forbes</i> 1943-1946
<i>Lillian Farlow</i> 1926	<i>Laura Dudley Saunderson</i> 1943
<i>James Leonard Paine</i> 1926-1936	<i>Penelope Barker Noyes</i> 1944-1954
<i>Prescott Evarts</i> 1927-1929	<i>Edward Ingraham</i> 1946-1949
<i>John Taylor Gilman Nichols</i> 1927- 1934	<i>Katherine Foster Crothers</i> 1947-
<i>Carolyn Huntington Saunders</i> 1928- 1933	<i>Rosamond Coolidge Howe</i> 1950-1952
<i>Philip Greenleaf Carleton</i> 1932-1933	<i>Bremer Whidden Pond</i> 1950
<i>Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana</i> 1934-1935	<i>Mildred Hunter Brown</i> 1951
<i>Samuel Atkins Eliot</i> 1934-1942	<i>Charles Conrad Wright</i> 1952-
<i>Roger Gilman</i> 1934-1951	<i>Dudley Clapp</i> 1952-
<i>Charles Leslie Glenn</i> 1934-1940	<i>Anna Coolidge Davenport Holland</i> 1953-
	<i>Elinor Gregory Metcalf</i> 1955-

PAPERS READ DURING THE YEARS 1953-54

EARLY HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE ORNITHOLOGY

BY LUDLOW GRISCOM

Read January 27, 1953

IN addressing the Cambridge Historical Society on "The Birds of Cambridge," I wish to be as historical and as little ornithological as possible. It is a task I approach with some trepidation, since neither in age nor background am I even remotely a Cantabrigian. While it is possible, therefore, that I know more about birds than some of you, the room is full of people who know more about Cambridge history than I do.

Nevertheless, it is an historic fact that Cambridge has made a definite contribution to the development of ornithology in the eastern United States. Numerous notable ornithologists have been either born in Cambridge or educated and trained at Harvard College, and while there are colleagues of mine outside of New England who have felt for years that provincial pride has tended to "blow it up" a bit, and make out lesser individuals to be of more importance than they actually were, nevertheless it is my best judgment that a veritable and tangible contribution remains. Unhappily this statement involves in some instances judgments on the lives and careers of people long since dead, whom I did not know personally, and of whom I lack firsthand knowledge; in other instances my firsthand knowledge of the personalities is remarkably complete.

To give this audience a proper background I must begin pretty far back and give some facts and mention some people who do not belong in the Cambridge scene. I choose to begin with the period of about

1850-1860, when the great Audubon, blind and with decayed mental faculties, had ended his fabulous career, and when Nuttall, the greatest botanical collector in American history, had completed his popular manual of ornithology (1832-1834) and had abandoned his unhappy curatorship at Harvard College never to return. I ask the rhetorical question: assuming the existence of someone born about 1850-1860, interested in birds, and bound to make it his life work, what resources, what information did he have available as a start and as a basis for further work?

Actually he had amazingly little. There were virtually no named collections; there was virtually no literature to go upon. The actual species of eastern American birds remained to be worked out. Their breeding and wintering grounds, their nests and eggs and immature plumage, remained to be discovered and described. Audubon made many mistakes, based on preserving his drawings and not the specimens. His books are full of apocryphal or imaginary species, and he remained totally unaware of the existence of some of our most abundant small and inconspicuous songbirds such as the small flycatchers and certain warblers. Moreover, he did not live to see the full development of the so-called scientific method of exact — and ill-mannered — scepticism, and most of his mistakes were based on accepting the secondhand statements of his friends, Mr. A. B. Smith, Esq., and others, whose erroneous opinions he published! It took decades of study and research to put these "mistakes" to sleep. The subject deserves a little more elaboration here.

At this period (1850) the leading ornithologist of New England was Dr. Thomas M. Brewer of Boston (1814-1880). He had actually known Audubon and Nuttall and had attracted attention by publishing, first, a popular and inexpensive edition of Wilson, second, a noteworthy paper on "Additions to the Catalogue of Massachusetts Birds in Hitchcock's Report (1833)," and third, a report on North American Oölogy, Volume IX of the Smithsonian Institution contributions to knowledge. This attracted the attention of the great S. F. Baird, the first Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and he and Ridgway selected Brewer as coauthor of the life histories of the land birds of North and Middle America (1874). Formally and systematically, Dr. Brewer was careless, slipshod, and inaccurate, as was later exposed by William Brewster and his friends. Dr. Brewer was also conceited, pompous, patronizing, and

argumentative, and engaged in futile controversy. Finally he was so stupid as to tangle with the brilliant and polemical Elliott Coues of Washington, who chewed him up and spat him out in small pieces in 1878, which ended Dr. Brewer's ornithological career.

I have recently amused myself by checking Dr. Brewer in rereading a revised history of Massachusetts Birds by the Reverend William B. O. Peabody (1839), appointed by Governor Everett's Commission. Goodness knows how he got the job and why, as I cannot find that he was ever heard of ornithologically before or since! However, the text teems with facts and opinions kindly communicated by Dr. T. M. Brewer in which the gentleman was wrong in every case!

As a further illustration of the changes in scientific method and approach, we can next profitably discuss the local list of birds. It was a commonplace in early American ornithology that a local list consisted of (1) the birds actually proved to have occurred, based on specimens in collections, and (2) the kinds assumed in all probability to occur, based on specimens captured just to the south, west, or north of the area concerned. On "common sense" grounds the latter would sooner or later occur in the area. Dr. Brewer's list included a high percentage of item 2, and thus gave rise to argument and endless discussion. On what grounds was the "common sense" inclusion to be justified? As there was no answer, the new school threw all such guesses out and deeply insulted the guessers! The pages of the Nuttall Club Bulletin are full of unfavorable reviews of Brewer's paper, of angry rejoinders and "defenses" on his part, all leading exactly nowhere! Actually the system fell into disrepute because of the incompetent guesses of ignorant authors. Nova Scotia has never yet recovered from Down's history of 1888. He "guessed" that every bird ever recorded in New England would some day be found in Nova Scotia, and in seven decades he was 90 per cent wrong!

We next reach the names of three men where Cambridge ornithological history really began.

(1) Goel Asaph Allen (1838-1921), a poor boy of Springfield, Massachusetts, struggled hard to get an education, came to Harvard to study under Agassiz, and got a position as a curator in the then new Museum of Comparative Zoology. He published a history of Massachusetts birds (1878) enumerating 316 authenticated species plus 24 of probable occurrence. A second list of 1886 gave 340 authenticated species plus 19

probable. It is of interest to note that in sixty-five years Dr. Allen's judgment proved correct in twenty cases out of twenty-five. Actually, Allen's greatest contribution was coming to the rescue of the Nuttall Club in 1876, and editing its successful Bulletin until the American Ornithological Union was founded in 1883, when the Bulletin was superseded by the *Auk*. Allen mastered both mammals and birds and a notably philosophical bent of mind gave him a very distinguished scientific career. Financial depression caused him to leave Cambridge for the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. The late Dr. Thomas Barbour always used to say that letting Allen go to New York was one of the worst breaks Harvard University ever made. Allen helped found the A.O.U. and edited the *Auk* for over twenty-five years.

(2) Henry W. Henshaw, born in Cambridgeport (1850-1930), an intimate friend and schoolmate of William Brewster, helped him found the Nuttall Club. An ardent, energetic ornithologist and collector, he soon left Cambridge for Washington, where he took part in the United States Government Wheeler Survey and made various trips for the Bureau of Ethnology and the Bureau of Biological Survey. He returned occasionally to Cambridge to visit, and wrote a superlatively good biographical memoir of his friend Brewster in the *Auk*. Field work made it impossible for him to be a founder of the A.O.U.

(3) William Brewster, born in Cambridge (1859-1919), was the greatest and most gifted field ornithologist New England ever produced. His contribution in helping fill up all the gaps in ornithological knowledge left by Audubon was almost fabulous. He founded the Nuttall Ornithological Club in 1873, the first bird club in America, of which he was President almost continuously until his death. In 1883 he founded the A.O.U. I have elsewhere (*Birds of Concord*, 1949) written at length of my wholehearted admiration for this man, his works, his journals and records, etc. These must have been the golden days of the Nuttall Club; its activities made an unforgettable impression on younger men privileged to attend the meetings. Brewster's knowledge and experience, his library and collections, were generously available. He had the genius and the personality to enforce scientific accuracy and to inspire interest and enthusiasm in his own projects and interests. He forced himself very painfully to learn how to write and succeeded so well that his journal extracts are now in the forefront of American nature writing.

I wish to go outside of New England for another appraisal. It so happens that my first job in ornithology was in the Bird Department of the American Museum of Natural History. Here I was under Dr. Allen and Dr. F. M. Chapman. Both men were of an intellectual stature greatly superior to Mr. Brewster, who never attained the scientific fame and prestige both of them won. Chapman in particular was able, hard working, ambitious, ruthless, and critical of his colleagues' defects and shortcomings. Dr. Allen, on principle, simply could not be drawn to say anything about anybody. Brewster was the only American ornithologist whom Chapman held in the highest esteem and reverence in the whole world. I was in the Bird Department when Brewster died on July 11, 1919. Chapman was advised by long distance phone and he was absolutely grief-stricken. I recall his bursting in my office and saying, "There goes the *finest* gentleman I have ever known!" — a magnificent epitaph from a great and worldly scientist. He dashed off a beautiful appreciation in *Bird-lore*.

Some time after 1906 I secured a copy of Brewster's *Birds of the Cambridge Region*. Seeing that I was interested in local faunistics, Chapman told me, "Study it, ponder on it, it is the best thing of its kind ever written." I did. I still think so. Fortunately it contains an early history, an appraisal of Nuttall, and an account of early collecting localities now obliterated by building and civilization. I was sunk when I came up here in 1927 and saw the wreck of Fresh Pond and the Fresh Pond marshes!

We are also greatly indebted to Mr. Charles Foster Batchelder of Cambridge (1877 to date), an early member of the Nuttall Club, the only surviving founder of the A.O.U., for a superb history of the Nuttall Club from 1873 to 1919, one of the Club's Memoirs (1937).

Cambridge ornithological history continued to be made by certain younger men, all of whom I knew very well indeed, so much so that any selection of mine borders on the invidious.

(1) John Hopkinson Baker of Cambridge (*b.* 1894), Secretary of the Nuttall Club, 1912-1914, moved to New York, entered into business, revived the flagging National Audubon Society, and has fully revived its activity and usefulness as Executive Director and President. An intimate lifelong friend.

(2) Outram Bangs (1863-1932), born in Watertown, in later years lived in Cambridge and had a fabulous and spectacular career. Fortu-

nately I knew and loved him well. Rarely have I known a man so cruelly disciplined by life, who took it so magnificently. He and his brother Edward were very rich and lived fast lives in Boston, where their house at one time adjoined that of Thomas M. Brewer. They were everlastingly hunting, shooting, fishing, and collecting to very good purpose indeed. Outram branched out early into tropical American birds, thus early acquiring an international reputation. His money was lost in the early 1900's. He then became curator of mammals at the Museum of Comparative Zoology and later, at Brewster's death, of birds. Calm, serene, pleasant, and steady, he quickly dug in, became friends with everybody, made advantageous exchanges, and lived to see the Museum collections rank sixth in the world. At his death he was recognized as the greatest museum curator of birds in America, and he was the first American to acquire a world-wide knowledge of birds and break away from the provinciality forced on earlier American ornithologists by the necessity of exploring their own continent first. It is a moot point whether he or his assistant, James Lee Peters (1889-1952), will go down in history as the greatest systematic ornithologist New England has produced. I lack time to gain a proper perspective.

[Following this paper, Mr. Griscom discussed various species of birds common to Cambridge.]

THE CAMBRIDGE PLANT CLUB

Read May 28, 1953

HISTORY OF THE PLANT CLUB

By Lois Lilley Howe

IT was a passion flower that began it — a passion flower which blossomed in the winter in the house of the Honorable John Lord Hayes on what is now called Coolidge Hill but was at that time numbered on Mount Auburn Street. There must have been many blossoms and they caused much interest on the part of all garden lovers. Many of the Hayes's friends came to see the wonderful plant, and naturally branched off into conversations about their own house plants.

At last, one afternoon, Miss Carrie Hayes, the youngest of the three Hayes sisters, suggested that it would be a good plan to form a club to study plants and flowers. The idea was eagerly taken up by Miss Needham and Miss Katherine Howe, who were calling at the time. They immediately began to interest other friends, and on January 28, 1889, twenty ladies met at Havenhurst to start the new club.

And how did they reach Havenhurst on Coolidge Hill that January afternoon of 1889? Very few people kept carriages in those days; to take a cab, or hack, except in bad weather or at night was unthinkable. They walked! They could come part way in the horse cars which still ran from Harvard Square to Mount Auburn and Watertown. One line ran up Brattle Street, the other up Garden Street, Concord Avenue, and Craigie Street to join the Brattle Street line at Sparks Street at what was called by the irreverent Wash Tub Square, on account of the drinking trough built there by Miss Mary Blatchford in memory of her friend Miss Abigail May. Brattle Street had a wonderful wide boardwalk on the north side. The present paved sidewalk was not put down until a few years later. Elsewhere the sidewalks were unpaved and muddy.

So they walked, in high buttoned boots, probably with arctics over them, in long dresses which trailed or touched the ground and had to be held up — dresses with bustles and draperies, *but* with pockets so they did not have to carry bags. And probably all had muffs.

At any rate they would have to have left the horse cars at Elmwood Avenue, which was scarcely more than a lane then. Elmwood was the only house on it. On the other side was an open field with a picket fence around it, a lilac hedge behind the fence, and a seat at the corner of Brattle Street where one could wait for a horse car.

As they came up the lane they would have seen the pretty Colonial house on the ridge — a big barn on the east and a sloping lawn below. There was also another house to the west with a special driveway, which still exists and forms Coolidge Hill Road. In the angle of Elmwood Avenue and Mount Auburn Street was a stonemason's yard with a big tent over it. This was a picturesque feature but not pleasing to the Hayeses.

These were the names of the ladies who came that afternoon:

Mrs. George Abbott	Miss Amy Goodwin
Mrs. John Bartlett	Miss Katherine McPherson Howe
Mrs. Bigelow	Miss Elvira Needham
Miss Elizabeth L. Bond	Miss Jane Newell
Mrs. Ole Bull	Mrs. Nathaniel Shaler
Miss Fanny Elizabeth Corne	Mrs. Sarah H. Swan
Miss Caroline Farley	Mrs. Chauncy Smith
Miss Elizabeth L. Green	Mrs. Henry N. Tilton
Miss Emma Forbes Harris	Miss Mabel Williston

Waiting for them were Miss Susan Lord Hayes and Miss Carrie Hayes.

They proceeded at once to organize the club. Miss Needham was chosen director (afterwards president), Miss Katherine Howe secretary, and Miss Farley treasurer. They decided to meet every alternate Monday at 3 o'clock at the house of one of the members and to close at 4:30, and to have an annual assessment of \$1.00, the money to be spent for periodicals, seeds, postal cards, etc. It was agreed to take *The English Garden*, *The American Garden*, and *Forest and Garden*.

There was much discussion about the name of the club, and it was finally voted to call it the Floricultural Club. The director gave out a list of seeds for early planting in order to have blooming plants the following winter, and a list of seeds for hardy perennials.

Two weeks later, at the second meeting, it was voted to change the

name, and after some consideration the Plant Club was decided on. We must remember it was winter and all had house plants. Miss Corne in her reminiscences says that it was also decided that each hostess should hang on her door a sign "Plant Club please walk in"! They began at once to elect new members, so that the membership of forty was soon filled.

Miss Needham was a mine of knowledge of plants and flowers. Perhaps it would be better to call her a reservoir from which most interesting information gushed forth at the turning of a tap. She had a beautiful garden at the corner of Garden Street and Shepard Street, and her house was filled all winter with blossoming plants.

The meetings were continual exchanges of experiences between the members. In the summer — for the meetings went on all summer — members walked in their hostesses' gardens, still exchanging experiences, and more than experiences. Scarcely a meeting occurred when someone did not bring seeds or flowers or plants to pass around. In addition the members clubbed together to buy seeds, bulbs, and plants. At one of the early meetings the members spent three hours in sorting thirty-five varieties of seeds, each member receiving nineteen packages.

They took themselves and the club very seriously, and on October 4th it was voted that during the first half-hour of the meeting there should be no general conversation and all remarks should be addressed to the chair.

Miss Needham died in 1891 — a great loss to the club, for her intense interest and her knowledge and zeal had helped to launch it on its career. She was not, however, the only erudite member. Miss Jane Newell, afterward Mrs. J. Lowell Moore, was a botanist of distinction and had already published a book on the subject. Miss Elizabeth Bond was a teacher of botany, and Miss Corne was an authority on ferns and had published articles on the subject. Later there came in other knowledgeable members. And the Hayes sisters were gardeners with the greenest of thumbs.

The fame of the club was growing. There was an article on it in the *Boston Advertiser*, then the most prominent daily paper. Soon a similar club was founded in Germantown, Philadelphia, and one in South Berwick, Maine, patterned on the Cambridge club.

By way of entertainment the members seem generally to have read information about the treatment of plants, indoors and out, ornamental

and vegetable — articles from newspapers, articles from books, extracts of every kind referring to plants. In 1890 Mr. Walter Deane, a distinguished botanist, gave a talk on native ferns. This was the beginning of a series of lectures continuing to the present day, given by many eminent authorities. One of the first was by Dr. George Lincoln Goodale, the head of the Botanical Garden. He came several times, as did Mr. Deane. The members themselves wrote papers on weighty subjects and the meetings were very educational.

After Miss Needham's death Mrs. Nathaniel Southgate Shaler became president and served for three years. Her successor, however, does not seem to have acted or taken any interest, and the club nearly came to an end in 1896. The attendance was very small and in spite of some good lectures, interest in the club seemed to be dying out. Mrs. Shaler came to the rescue and managed to stir up the members so that the club rose like a phoenix. Tradition says that part of the revival was caused by the cup that cheers but does not inebriate, although no statement of a vote is made in the records. Mrs. Ole Bull had once served tea at a meeting in the first year, but since then the meetings had been very dry. Now we read always "discussion was continued over the teacups."

Mrs. Henry N. Tilton, who lived where the Alexander Bills now live on Highland Street, was elected president and for six years she was an admirable head. It was during her leadership that the club first began to feel itself a member of a community. Its first outside effort was helping a crippled Southern boy by sending him money for pressed specimens and books on botany.

Then the club began to talk about the preservation of wild flowers, and all members enrolled their names as members of a Society for Preservation of Our Native Plants. The New England Society for Preservation of Wild Flowers as we know it was not started for nearly twenty years.

At the annual meeting, January 4, 1899, the executive committee was requested to look out for three kinds of members: first, the young and serious party who wants to be improved even to the extent of listening to cuttings from newspapers; then the gray-headed or frivolous set, who want to be amused; and finally the rank and file, who submit to being improved if they are also amused. Nothing seems to be said about interest in gardens.

But experience meetings went right on. One lady reported that she saw a magnificent geranium that had been fed on hot red pepper tea. One of the members tried this with fatal effect. But another member sprayed an abutilon with sulpho-naphthol with great success.

In the spring of 1903 the club gave seeds to the children of the East End Union, who did so well with their gardens that in the fall the club sent twenty-six geranium plants to them as prizes.

It was the next year that Mrs. Gozzaldi became president. She served for three years and later for five years. It is not possible in such a résumé as this to say much about individual presidents, but the standard set by Mrs. Tilton and Mrs. Gozzaldi was very high.

And all the time the public was becoming more garden conscious, and the word *social* was more and more meaning "serving others." It was in Mrs. Gozzaldi's first year that the subject of discussion at a meeting February 9, 1904, was "How can the club be made more practical, first for others, second for ourselves, or do we exist only for pleasure?" No definite answer to these questions was given, but the club continued to develop its social service side.

In April, 1909, a fair was held at Miss Houghton's for the sale of seeds and plants, jellies, etc., for the benefit of the Cambridge Hospital, now called the Mount Auburn Hospital. It netted \$73.60, and Mr. Walter Deane added the fee of \$10 just given him, making \$83.60. In 1911 the club began to help the Margaret Fuller House and the Neighborhood House.

Then came the First World War, and there was much talk about knitting at meetings, which was finally allowed. There does not seem to have been as much active war work as during the last war, but there was talk of canning and conservation, and undoubtedly many of the members folded bandages. At this time "on account of strain" they gave up fortnightly meetings and met only once a month, as has been true ever since.

But all the time the lectures went on. The old records have extremely interesting reports of these lectures and of experience and advice of members. Miss Hayes tells us that anyone can make good fertilizer at home — tea is an excellent stimulant and the contents of the vacuum cleaner very valuable.

So the club developed from a small-town club to a community asset.

We note the interest in the Farm and Garden Association. Mrs. King is made a member of the executive committee of the New England Wild Flower Preservation Society.

But the real awakening and blooming of the club comes with the foundation of the Garden Federation during the presidency of Mrs. I. Eugene Emerson. All the interest in the other affairs had prepared it for this. So, although the club had been cautious and rather slow about accepting the new idea — started by Mr. Farrington, the editor of *Horticulture* — the name of The Cambridge Plant Club is first on the list of member clubs in the final organization of 1927, and since then the club has been represented in some way at every meeting.

A special meeting of the club was held in the campaign for the Bill Board Law in 1928, and \$100 was raised. The club gave \$25 to the Botanic Garden. It made a model backyard in connection with Better Homes at the Children's Museum in 1930. That was the year that as a result of a report of the Massachusetts Forestry Association it was voted to plant three elm trees on the common. This led to the appointment of a Conservation Committee in 1932. Mrs. Penman was chairman. This committee met at her house on February 16, with Mr. Warren Manning, a Cambridge landscape architect, and Mr. Donnelly, Superintendent of Parks. Mr. Manning recommended a planting of trees and shrubs along the fence back of the gate facing Harvard Square. This led to the club's great project of planting around the common.

From the beginning the club sent flower arrangements to the annual meetings of the Garden Clubs Federation. Then in 1929 the club entered the annual flower show of the Horticultural Society and did a plant window, receiving a first prize, a silver medal.

In the Second World War almost every member had special war work to do. Not only was there Red Cross work — sewing, making surgical dressings and "kits" — but some worked at the hospitals as Gray Ladies or in charge of blood banks. One member worked four hours a day in a Raytheon factory. One member gave up all the first story of her house to the Red Cross. Some sold war saving stamps and bonds. The whole club helped the Garden Clubs Service financially. There were regular days for work at certain hospitals arranging flowers. Christmas decorations were made. One member was the head of Garden Clubs Service at the Murphy General Hospital.

In 1938, a group of younger women started the Cambridge Garden Club. This the Cambridge Plant Club always considers its daughter. Some members belong to both clubs, and cordial combined meetings are often held.

THE OLD BURYING GROUND IN CAMBRIDGE

By Marion Jessie Dunham

THE history of the old burying ground that lies between Christ Church and the First Church Unitarian near Cambridge Common is so well known to members of the Cambridge Historical Society that it would seem difficult to add anything new, yet it may not be without interest to tell what has been done by this generation to keep it in repair.

It will be remembered that the first effort made by the town of Cambridge to take care of the burying ground was its enclosure in 1735 by a stone wall, for which Harvard paid its share. In 1845, however, we find Mr. William Thaddeus Harris, writing in the preface to his book *Epitaphs from the Old Burying Ground in Cambridge*, "It is rather surprising that, in this age of improvement, Cambridge should fall behind her neighbors and suffer her ancient graveyard to be neglected."

In the late 1920's the rector of Christ Church, the Reverend C. Leslie Glenn, had the same thought, and in 1931 he was able to get together a committee of prominent Cantabrigians who felt as he did and were determined to restore the cemetery to its old beauty. Judge Robert Walcott, President of the Cambridge Historical Society, was the chairman. Other members were President James B. Conant, representing Harvard, Mayor Russell, Mr. Charles Almy for the First Church, Mrs. Henry Tudor for the Plant Club of Cambridge, Miss Dora Stewart, also a Plant Club member, who had charge of the adjoining grounds of Christ Church, Professor Samuel Morison, Professor Joseph Beale, and Professor Morley J. Williams. Mr. Samuel Appleton represented the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. The remaining members were Mrs. Thomas J. Cavanagh, Mr. Allyn B. Forbes, and Mr. Glenn, Secretary.

After many meetings Mayor Russell's representatives gave an estimate of \$4000, and an appeal was sent to any persons likely to be in-

terested. The response, however, was very disappointing, and it was not until the Economic Recovery Administration offered to cooperate that the work of restoration really began in 1934.

The *Boston Evening Transcript* of Saturday, June 2nd, under the heading "The shovels of E.R.A. rediscover God's Acre in Harvard Square," showed pictures of Professor Williams and Mr. Pinkney at the Holyoke tomb and men uncovering the brick paths.

Professor Williams had drawn up plans for the restoration as nearly as possible identical with the original one on the old maps, and so accurate were these that the old bricks forming the paths were found under the sods. These paths were relaid, four inches of loam was spread all around, and grass was sown. The headstones were straightened and suitable trees were planted. Mrs. Tudor gave the maples now flourishing along Garden Street and Massachusetts Avenue, as well as shrubs for the northwest corner.

A most important work was done by Miss Elizabeth Farnum for the E.R.A. in listing all the graves. Giving as far as possible the full names of all those buried there, she also gave their family connections and in some cases notes on their lives. A copy of this record is kept at Christ Church with photographs of the more interesting headstones. Some thirty of these are worthy of study, being the work of the Boston stone-cutter Joseph Lamson and of his sons John and Nathaniel.

During the summer Miss Stewart, a member of the Plant Club, in addition to her care of the Christ Church grounds supervised the old man paid by Mr. Glenn to scythe the grass. The care of the cemetery rested on the committee.

In 1936, for its Tercentenary, Harvard College put in order the corner which it owns and where seven of its Presidents are buried. Mrs. Emerson, on behalf of the Plant Club, gave asters, but the general idea was to keep the grounds as much as possible as they had originally been. One trouble was that grass fires were sometimes started by cigarettes thrown over the wall, making it necessary to keep the grass short, and arrangements were therefore made with the city to do this.

During the spring of 1952, at a joint meeting of the Plant and Garden Clubs of Cambridge, the attention of members was called to the neglected state of the burying ground. Shades of William Thaddeus Harris! The presidents were asked to send a joint letter to Mr. Atkinson, the City

Manager, calling for his help. However, before the letter could have been received a miracle happened. Men were seen clearing up the broken branches and bottles, mowing and reseeding the grass, and uncovering the brick paths. Rumor said that Mr. Robert Taft was to speak on the Common on April 19th, but the Plant Club did not care what the reason was, for since then "God's Acre" has looked tidier and neater than for many years, and we no longer hear the reproaches of visitors chiding us for our neglect and lack of appreciation for what to many of them is a place of pilgrimage.

CHRIST CHURCH PLANTING

By Mrs. Robert Goodale

SURELY Christ Church is one of the most interesting old buildings in Cambridge. As anyone who has read Mr. Day's "Biography of a Church" will know, its history is a fascinating chronicle.

Starting in 1759 as a place of worship for a few wealthy Cambridge Tories, the church has been "modernized" by succeeding generations to fit the needs of their times. At one point it was used as a barracks for the Continental Army; at another it was lengthened by being cut in two and having a piece inserted in the middle; in the 1880's it was "Victorianized." By about 1920, however, a plan was started to restore the buildings to their original Colonial style. Gray and white paint was used within, and small grass plots and narrow brick walks were laid outside. To accommodate the rectory children, a play-yard was fenced in under the linden trees.

For many years Miss Dora Stewart of the Cambridge Plant Club planned and tended the Church grounds with loving care and great feeling for what was both appropriate in sentiment and practical. There were bright flower-beds by the rectory door. In front of the church were lilac bushes — beloved of all early settlers — and a carpet of English ivy. By the vestry door were old-fashioned rose bushes. The parish house opened on the end of Farwell Place; and here was a perennial garden with a rose-arbored path which was a delight to old residents of the street. Miss Stewart believes — and taught us to believe — that a church should be a thing of beauty and inspiration from all points of view.

Times still change; cities grow; and churches grow too. Through the depression and war years the parish house was bursting at the seams, and the drive and pathways were too narrow for the crowds that came to the Sunday services. A new parish house was started in 1950; then, through the generous legacy of Miss Mary Deane Dexter, money became available to finish the parish house, and to undertake a new job of landscaping the grounds.

This is what has actually been done. At the front of the church, the right-hand driveway has been straightened and widened, the old fence around the rectory yard renewed and pushed back against the linden trees. This gives a clear view of the Doric portico from Garden Street. To the left of the portico is the silhouette of a Chinese dogwood tree. A narrow ribbon of vinca edges both sides of the drive.

The rectory flower-beds have been changed to year-round beds. For demonstrating the advantages of this type of planting we are indebted to members of the Cambridge Garden Club, who presented us with many expertly detailed plans. We reserve the right to continue to use these ideas (!) and have made a start as follows. Hatfield yews are in the centers of the beds, low yews by the doors, andromeda in between. There is a tall English hawthorn at the street end of the rectory, and a Japanese quince at the other. The ground cover is polemonium and creeping phlox. For spring color a band of yellow crocus is followed by yellow pansies, then sweet alyssum. In the fall there are clumps of tawny-to-red chrysanthemums.

In front of the church the old brick walks were widened (using matching water-struck brick) to make places where one could stand and chat without tripping over wire-enclosed grass plots. New clumps of double white lilacs were planted, carpeted again with English ivy.

Along the side of the church opposite the Burying Ground, the ribbon of vinca is being continued. By the vestry roses will be restored. There will be Hugonis, Harrison's yellow, and Spinosissima altaica by the door; a silver moon will climb up over it, and onto the roof; carpet-of-gold will cover the picket fence and area way.

The path that leads to Farwell Place ends in a hedge of purple lilacs. Passing through this, if you look very closely, you may see the new toolshed concealed under the Ailanthus tree at the end of Farwell Place.

In building the new parish house, No. 19, Miss Stewart's little garden

was sacrificed, all but a very small plot of grass behind the hydrant. The brick walls which surround it are uncompromising. It has been planted with white-flowering shrubs to bloom in different months: white violets and *deutzia gracilis* beneath the low windows, syringa, white althea, a tall silverbell tree to cast light shade, and a Washington thorn to break a hard corner.

As Farwell Place has the flavor of a quaint village street, lilacs have been planted in many yards on both sides. A Marie Lafraye lilac was put at the south corner of No. 19, and a formal spacing of *ilex crenata convexa* and yews flanks its main doorway.

Ivy, both English and Boston, has been started on the walls of the building.

No. 17 Farwell Place is the home of the Assistant Rector, and also of the organist. It is set sideways to the street. Behind it is a dark alley under a fire-escape, which has been blocked at one end by a fence and at the other by barberry bushes. Vinca, violets, and a few bushes of *leucothoe* are beginning to improve the view from the windows that look out on this alley. In front of this house runs a right-of-way to Radcliffe. Flower-beds have been planted along both sides of this path.

The parish house now runs almost to the wire fence separating the properties of the church and Radcliffe. On this fence is planted honeysuckle, and inside it runs a new black-top path for the benefit of choir-boys et al. Grass grows feebly in the shade here, so beds of lily-of-the-valley and violets have been started in the hope of finding a successful ground-cover. *Funkia* has been used for bordering the garage, and a compost-pit has been started behind the garage.

Plants have been donated by many kind friends — ideas by many more. The actual plant material *bought* was from Weston, Cherry Hill, and Kelsey Nurseries, and was picked out personally by members of the committee:

Mrs. R. A. Cutter
Mrs. J. B. Munn
Mrs. L. Griscom
Mrs. C. Smith

Mrs. C. S. Gardner
Mrs. E. Greene
Mrs. Sutherland
Mrs. Goodale

The actual cost of this project — not counting tool-shed or compost-heap — was about \$2300.

To contractor for widening drive and putting in new black-top paths . . .	\$763
For work on brick paths and labor of planting and re-doing lawns . . .	900
Seed and fertilizer (we bought no loam)	25
New fence	185
Plant material	315
Consultation: S. Shurcliffe (to O.K. plan)	20
4 bump-stones (still to come)	100

The committee has had great fun, and learned a lot. We think the nicest comment we have heard was from someone who said: "I can't see that you have done anything new! It just looks as if it always *had* been!"

THE CAMBRIDGE COMMUNITY CENTER

By Mary B. Smith

IN the fall of 1948 the Cambridge Community Center completed its new building on Harvard Street. Many members of the Cambridge Plant Club were interested in the Center, and as several members were also on the board, it was natural that the Plant Club should take on the project of planting the grounds.

During the winter of 1948-49 the Harvard Botanical Garden was given up and much of the plant material was removed to make way for the building project, so we were fortunate in starting off with two ten-foot elm trees and one good-sized flowering crab tree from there. These trees were transplanted for us by Frost and Higgins at a handsome price, which the Cambridge Garden Club was good enough to share with us. At the same time, however, the contractor gave us a sixteen-ton load of topsoil free. These trees are doing well.

From then on various shrubs, annuals, and perennials have been very generously contributed by members of both the Plant Club and the Garden Club. The committee, with the help of the boys at the Center, has done the planting. The first year that meant wielding the pickaxe, as the area we wanted to plant was filled land, made up chiefly of stones, tar, and rubble.

We cannot say we have achieved any effect of great beauty. The grounds still remain for the most part barren dirt playground areas. It is thus all the more surprising to see some things well established, such as the crab tree to the right of the front door and a large honeysuckle bush to

the left, both of which are blossoming well. The spring bulbs, several altheas, a sturdy floribunda rose, and some fall asters and chrysanthemums are also blossoming well and giving a very satisfactory touch of color to a very drab neighborhood.

We hope that from now on the Center will take over the responsibility of the upkeep of the planting, with an occasional helping hand, if desired, from the Plant Club. The project this spring is to make one area sufficiently attractive for outdoor cookouts, and we would like to help by contributing some of the equipment. We have confidence that the present director, Mr. Robert March, a man of very high standards, is interested in keeping the grounds presentable, and that he feels the importance of setting an example of orderliness and respect for property in a neighborhood which needs a great deal of help in that direction. We feel it has been a worthwhile project for the Cambridge Plant Club.

THE PLANTING ON THE CAMBRIDGE COMMON

By Edith Sloan Griscom

FROM the earliest of colonial times the Cambridge Common has played a prominent and important part in the life of Massachusetts. It was a reserved tract of land, in the original plans, that reached to Linnaean Street from the "Village," now Harvard Square, and was divided for two uses. One use was purely local and not unlike sections in the heart of Boston — it was set apart for the keeping of cows at night and there were strict rules to protect these cows from Indians and wolves.

Cambridge in that period had three famous trees on its Common. In 1630 the seat of government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was established in Cambridge, then called Newtowne, and the elections for governor and for magistrates were held annually on the Common under a certain oak. In times of stress people from other parts of the county came to air their grievances there. During the election for the office of chief magistrate in 1637 a near riot broke out. At the height of the tumult Reverend John Wilson, pastor of the Boston church, "in spite of his 49 years and his great bulk" struggled up into the tree and addressed the people in such forceful language that quiet was restored. This tree stood on the east side of the Common, and on the site of the old oak the Park

Commission has planted an elm that was grown from a seed of the old Washington Elm. This sturdy youngster planted sixty years ago is now about thirty feet high and very healthy.

The second tree of interest was the "Whitefield Elm," which stood near the old Washington Elm on the northwest side of the Common. The evangelist, Reverend George Whitefield, had been refused the pulpit of the Cambridge church, but under this old elm he preached to open-air audiences, claiming that the New England clergy lacked piety and that Harvard College had low standards of morals.

The most famous tree, however, was the Washington Elm. The Common had always been a training ground for militia. In 1775 Colonel Prescott and his band of a thousand men received their marching orders here and marched on to Bunker Hill and that famous conflict. When Washington arrived in Cambridge, nine thousand men were encamped on the Common, and under the famous elm he is said to have taken charge of the American Army on July 3rd, 1775. He was quartered first in the College yard, as the College had been moved to Andover. The old elm, which stood next to the Common on Garden Street, was destroyed in 1924, but I believe it has offspring in other parts of the country, as well as the previously mentioned one which stands in the Common opposite the Hemenway Gymnasium. There are two other scions also in the Common, one not marked, in case of vandalism, to insure the certainty of a descendant.

In 1830, with much opposition, the present Common received its surrounding fence, and walks were laid out and trees planted at the private expense of Judge Fay. Here on the Common, Harvard Commencement Day for many years was a scene of gaiety and excitement. In 1870 was dedicated the Soldiers' Monument to the men who had fought in the Civil War, and five years later the old cannon were brought from the arsenal and placed by the monument.

One hundred years has not changed the Common very much. The venerable trees are gone, but others have taken their places, though with no historic interest. The automobiles are now rushing by and the cars from the Cambridge subway pass the young descendant of the Washington Elm, but Christ Church still wears its coat of gray paint with great dignity. Boston is now eight minutes instead of eight miles from Cambridge.

In 1933 cars were parked solidly beside the fence around the Common, giving an unattractive and commercial look to the historic spot. Although a Common is not supposed to have a shrubby border, the idea came to Mrs. John S. Penman and Mrs. L. Eugene Emerson of the Cambridge Plant Club that something should be done to hide these parked cars.

A border of shrubs inside the fence seemed a very expensive proposition, but it was decided to start in a very simple way and cover only a little ground every year. A committee was formed and went to work. Mrs. Penman asked me to join them in 1935 and put me in charge when she went to New York in 1938. Even from New York she wrote me about it and sent generous checks. Her own planting is now firmly established, stretching either side of the gate and toward Christ Church. Her contagious enthusiasm broke down any barrier of age and made an adventure of the spring planting.

The species chosen were those that grow in Cambridge like weeds. These have produced a barrier against the automobile and have proved most effective. Various deutzia, forsythia, spirea, weigelia, privet, viburnum, barberry, etc., have proved that nothing can discourage them.

Realizing that shrubs with earth balled around their roots was out of the question, we purchased dormant shrubs, not very tall, with good roots. It is amazing how many healthy shrubs, if you pick your nursery carefully, you can get for an average of \$75 a year. Our 1942 bill was typical, though prices are now higher:

30 Forsythia	\$15.00
150 Barberry	36.00
30 Philadelphus	
Coronarius	13.50
30 Deutzia, Pride of	
Rochester	18.00
30 Spirea Van Houti	15.00
Total	<u>\$97.50</u>
Less 20%	<u>19.50</u>
	<u>\$78.00</u>

Two hundred and seventy shrubs for \$78. Except for the barberry everything was three to four feet high, and the nursery always gave us 20 per cent discount for a good deed.

In the past twenty years we have planted over 3,500 shrubs. The border now extends all around the Common except on Waterhouse Street. There the trees are thick, the parked automobiles few, and the old houses a charming background.

After we had chosen these shrubs, the city fathers, who are very cooperative, sent the city truck out to the nursery on a stated date. About five members of the Plant Club met the truck on the Common to oversee the work. The workmen and the man in charge of the Common were there to help. With much good cheer, and after the desired planning was pointed out to her, each lady took two men, seized her stated shrubs, and supervised the planting, being sure that the roots had plenty of room and that the ground was firm. There was always three hours of animation and speed, as the men were not gardeners and wished to dig small holes, jam in the roots, and stamp them down. But they were most obliging and amused by us and did what they were told, digging the proper size holes. When this gay party was over, we presented them all around with cigarettes and said farewell. Several times the Park Commissioner himself dropped in.

The city fathers have treated us very well and are most appreciative. Twice a year they fertilize our border for nothing, and the pruning is done by the man in care of the Common, who is proud of his charge and most genial. Also they have planted many trees in the Common and take very good care of them, although we have no part in that.

The major difficulty with our border — and a very real one — is the lack of water in the Common. So far as I know, the drinking fountain at one end and one hydrant are all that is there. So we often plant our dormant shrubs in dust, with no water whatsoever, and we pray. One year for seventeen days after our spring planting there was a drought, but when the rain came, it did a good job. This was followed by a dry summer, but we lost only three quinces, seven other shrubs and twenty barberries, a financial loss of only \$9.00, all from this new planting, and, considering the trying conditions, not very serious. Perhaps that is one excellent reason for taking dormant shrubs. In 1942 we had twenty days of drought; then we planted in our dust bowl and the next day the heavens opened for fifteen hours and the bushes rooted.

All summer the shrubs receive no water except from the sky. In the earliest Colonial days the settlers claimed that this was a site where no

town could ever be, as there was no wind in summer to turn the windmills to draw water. Sometimes in August, when I look at our dusty shrubbery, I feel perhaps it is true and that the water still remains deep in the wells.

Trespassers are another problem. Certain definite spots turn into informal shortcuts. Harvard is on one side, Radcliffe on the other, and there is a public ballfield, which turns into a hockey field in winter, near Waterhouse Street. Barberry bushes were put along the border to scratch ankles and to further discourage trespassers — the shrubs are put rather close to each other. Wherever the barberry has taken root, it is most successful and thrives, but it is difficult to get started.

The hurricane in 1938 uprooted two or three trees with resulting damage to the shrubbery. Curiously enough, fire has twice done serious havoc. One time some dry leaves had been raked into our oldest planting and a fire started by a careless cigarette burned about twenty-five feet to the ground. Over eight years these shrubs have entirely come up from the roots. Once started you can not kill these shrubs.

The planting at the entrances seems to suffer the most — possibly because of the nearness of the concrete paths and the tree roots. Sometimes earth has been laid over concrete foundations, making a very real problem.

Despite tragic moments, the bushes defiantly bloom in May, June, and July and give color and life to an otherwise monotonous landscape of asphalt paths and automobiles.

In the early 1940's history repeated itself. Once more on the Common the soldiers were drilling and daily you could see the men of various Army and Navy units training.

The historic trees are gone, the Common is fenced in, but we hope the flowering shrubs, the deutzia, spirea, lilacs, and forsythia will compensate in part for the things that are past.

THE AGASSIZ SCHOOL

BY EDWARD WALDO FORBES

Read October 27, 1953

IN 1941 I read a paper to the Cambridge Historical Society on the beginnings of the Art Department and of the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard. In that talk I said something about the Agassiz School, because the present Fogg Museum stands where the Agassiz house used to stand on the corner of Quincy Street and Broadway. I was particularly interested in the school because my mother and her older sister, my aunt Ellen Emerson, were students there. Later, when Professor Rusk of Columbia University was writing a life of Emerson, I went through the letters of my mother and my aunt and found a certain amount of material about the school which I hope will be of some interest to you.

Of course, we are all familiar with the name Agassiz and know that he was a great man, but perhaps a few words about him may be appropriate before we start to speak about the Agassiz School.

Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz was a native of Switzerland who came to America in 1846. Through Humboldt's influence he had received a subsidy from the Prussian government. Soon after his arrival, through Sir Charles Lyell's recommendation, he gave a course at the Lowell Institute. His success was immediate, and Harvard College appointed him professor in the following year.

His influence was enormous. Harvard had been a small college for training clergymen. Agassiz brought in new life and felt that the undergraduate college should be a preparation for the graduate schools. This development came under the powerful and skillful President Eliot within twenty years and Harvard became a university.

Before Agassiz came to America he had married and he had three children. He brought his son Alexander with him to America. At first he lived in a house on Oxford Street. His wife, an invalid in Switzerland, died not long after his arrival in America.

In 1850 he married Elizabeth Cary, and the two young daughters

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were brought from Switzerland to Cambridge. In the neighborhood of 1855 Agassiz and his wife established a private school for girls in Cambridge in his new house on Quincy Street to help in the raising of funds which he needed to build up his collections for his museum.

Professor James H. Hosmer described Agassiz in these words:

He had come a few years before from Europe, a man in his prime of fame. He was strikingly handsome with a domelike head under flowing black locks, large dark mobile eyes set in features strong and comely, and with a well-proportioned stalwart frame. At the moment his prestige was greater, perhaps, than that of any other Harvard professor. His knowledge seemed almost boundless. . . . He always kindled as he spoke, and with a marvellous magnetism communicated his glow to those who listened.

George Agassiz, in speaking of his grandfather and father, says:

The elder Agassiz, buoyant and robust, loved appreciation, was fond of teaching, and had a genius for stimulating his students. More especially after his coming to America he was preeminent as a great teacher. Few people can now realize how intense an interest he kindled in science wherever he went in the New World, or how eagerly people of all kinds thronged to his lectures in communities not easily roused to abstract enthusiasms or given to scientific excitement. Alexander, retiring and reserved, had no gift or desire to excite popular interest . . . while his activities extended over many fields, his intellectual life was devoted to research. . . .

The upper story of the house was converted into schoolrooms, the recitations were to overflow into the other stories. The unrivaled reputation of Louis Agassiz as a great and inspiring teacher immediately made the school unique and gave it an unqualified success. It became the girls' school of its day; special omnibuses brought the pupils out from Boston; while parents in other parts of the country made arrangements for their daughters to live in the neighborhood, that they might enjoy its special advantages.

Cambridge was then the centre for a small group of very distinguished men. Louis Agassiz's brother-in-law Felton; Pierce, the eminent mathematician; Child, the English scholar; Asa Gray and Jeffries Wyman, the naturalists; Longfellow and Lowell, were at home in the Agassiz house, and the talk that flew about was a liberal education.

Bliss Perry says, "But the Agassiz house continued to be for many a year the center of a truly cosmopolitan culture — musical, artistic, and literary, as well as scientific. No other house in Cambridge, except Longfellow's and Charles Eliot Norton's, welcomed so many distin-

guished foreign guests or was warmed by the fires of a more friendly hospitality."

President Eliot wrote a charming article in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* of March 29, 1917, after the Agassiz house had been ruined by fire. He says:

Between 1855 and 1863 hundreds of young women received in that house the best part of their education from Professor Agassiz assisted by Mrs. Agassiz and his daughter Ida and for part of the time by his son, a very winning but rather bashful young man. It was a novel kind of school as regards both discipline and subjects of instruction, but it was very stimulating, enlarging, and enjoyable. . . .

One great charm of the school was that Mrs. Agassiz, although never a teacher, was really the presiding officer, the intimate friend of the pupils, and the real manager of both pupils and teachers. Her gentle but commanding personality provided all the discipline the school needed. . . .

The unique feature of the school was the daily lecture given by Professor Agassiz during the last hour of the morning. The topics in these lectures were varied including geology, history, and zoology; but they gave the girls a strong impression as to the real nature of scientific observation, imagination, and reasoning. Parents or relatives of the pupils were made welcome at this lecture, and their attendance deepened the impression which the lecture made on the young pupils. . . .

The school did not long survive the outbreak of the Civil War. It ceased in 1862.

Bliss Perry points out that:

Mrs. Louis Agassiz's name led the list of Cambridge ladies who, in 1879, organized that "Private Collegiate Instruction for Women" which marked the first definite step toward the founding of Radcliffe College. This undertaking may fairly be considered an outgrowth of the Agassiz School on Quincy Street. "But for the school," wrote Mrs. Agassiz late in life, "the college (so far as I am concerned) would never have existed."

The Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women was formed in May, 1882. Radcliffe College was finally incorporated in 1894, and she was the first president. There were many meetings in the house on Quincy Street while Mrs. Agassiz was developing the plan for Radcliffe.

Nowadays many Radcliffe girls flock to the parent place on Quincy Street, the present Fogg Museum of Art.

George Agassiz continues:

In speaking of the scope of the school the elder Agassiz said, "We will teach the girls everything but mathematics, and the poor things can learn that almost everywhere else. [A remark hardly just to the son, who unlike the father was an excellent mathematician.]

Those were busy days for Alexander Agassiz, who, while pursuing his studies at the Scientific School and the chemical laboratory, prepared the tabular view of the studies of the school, kept the books, and paid the teachers, besides teaching the girls mathematics, chemistry, physics, French, and Latin.

It was a trying experience for a young man of twenty, to teach with dignity and success a school full of girls, some older than himself. Many of his sisters' friends were pupils in the school, and it must often have been difficult for him to forget that the night before he had danced with them in Boston or Cambridge. . . .

In 1857 there was a celebrated race between the *Volante*, a crew composed of well-known young men about town, and the university crew of which Agassiz was still bow. His pupils and two thirds of Boston lined the "Back Bay," and watched the defeat of the Harvard boat after an exciting struggle. The next morning at school many of the girls appeared wearing black ribbons on their arms, and for once, as he walked to his desk, the young master gave them a smile.

Alexander was active in the Hasty Pudding theatricals and also in the German plays on Quincy Street. He studied chemistry and engineering, and after preliminary experience in some coal mines in Pennsylvania, through his brother-in-law Quincy Shaw he came to know the Calumet and Hecla mines in Michigan. Before long he became the superintendent of these mines. His ability in this work caused the mines to prosper and he and many others were made rich. So he was able to return to Harvard and built up the great Agassiz Museum.

This glimpse will perhaps be more intelligible if I tell here who some of the people referred to were and what relation they bore to each other. Professor Agassiz's three children by his first wife, who were born in Europe, were: Alexander Agassiz, Harvard, 1855, who married Anna Russell, who appears later in the story; Ida Agassiz, who later married Henry Lee Higginson, who started in the class of 1855 but had to leave in December of his freshman year on account of his eyes and who traveled and studied music in Vienna; and Pauline, who was a fellow pupil of my mother in some of the classes. Later she married Quincy A. Shaw, who was Francis Parkman's companion on the Oregon Trail and who later became rich on account of Alexander Agassiz's success in managing the Calumet and Hecla copper mines. On the advice of William Morris Hunt, Shaw bought many works of art by Jean François Millet

before he was recognized in France. These paintings may be seen in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts today.

Pauline Agassiz Shaw, following the Agassiz example, created a boys' school in Boston. Robert Bellows tells me that he went to it. Then she also created the North Bennet Street Industrial School for the underprivileged in the North End in 1881.

Bliss Perry, in his *Life of Henry Lee Higginson*, gives a picture of the life in Cambridge in the 1850's. He quotes Mrs. Higginson, who speaks of her husband in 1854 on his return from Europe:

He continued friendly relations with his classmates, passing much of his time at Mrs. Lowell's, the mother of Charles Lowell, and joining all the sociable life of the young people in Cambridge, which centered in Mrs. Lowell's house. There were private theatricals, sometimes in German, there was a delightful German class, and there were readings which finished with a delightful social gathering in the evening. He belonged to a singing society, "The Orpheus," and also to a private singing club in Boston, and often went to James Savage's room in Holworthy, where there was much informal singing and music.

This is the end of Mrs. Higginson's quotation. She fails to recognize why the German class was delightful. It was because she was the teacher, adored by her students.

Some of the girls most mentioned by my Aunt Ellen in her letters may be mentioned here.

Judge Hoar of Concord, who was famous in those decades, was the brother of Mrs. Storer. Two of the elder Storer daughters went to the Agassiz School. A still younger daughter was the grandmother of Langdon Warner.

My grandfather Emerson knew two charming Sturgis sisters. One married Mr. Tappan and lived at Tanglewood in Lenox, made famous by Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales*, and now the summer home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra; and the other sister married Dr. Hooper. This Mrs. Hooper is mentioned, and her three daughters were pupils at the school: Anna (later Mrs. Lothrop); Ellen (later Mrs. Gurney); and Marian, who was called "Clover" (later Mrs. Henry Adams). Their brother was Edward Hooper, later the Treasurer of Harvard. Alice Hooper was a cousin of these girls. Others were mentioned also, as you will hear.

Samuel Ward was a highly cultivated gentleman, a banker by profes-

sion and a connoisseur of art, literature, and music. Two of his daughters, Anna and Lily, figure in this story. Some of you perhaps have known three of his grandchildren — Mrs. William C. Endicott, Mrs. Charles B. Perkins, and Ward Thoron.

My aunt Ellen Emerson was a student at the Agassiz School in 1855-57, age sixteen to eighteen. My mother was there in the winter of 1858-59, age sixteen to seventeen. My aunt was a shy, awkward, country girl at that time, intelligent but green in the ways of society. My mother was very different — more socially inclined, a dynamic personality with a strong will. She once quoted to me someone as saying of her sister Ellen that she had no common sense, but had uncommon sense. There are three kinds of sense — common sense, uncommon sense, and horse sense. You have perhaps heard the definition that someone made of horse sense: "it is that quality which horses have which prevents them from betting on the affairs of men!"

Ellen Tucker Emerson to her cousin, Haven Emerson; Concord, October 2, 1855:

I am going now every day to the Agassiz School. I have a season ticket and go up and down in the cars, which I like very much. Birdy Cheney goes to the Agassiz School too and having somebody with me makes it pleasant. The teachers are very much afraid of our studying too much and I have nothing to bring home. Isn't that good? I like the whole family very much indeed.

After commuting from Concord for a while, she boarded in Boston.

E. T. E. to Edith Emerson; Boston, Saturday, November 3, 1855:

After school we made haste to the omnibus and it happened that I sat next to Alice Hooper. Then it was funnier than ever, how awkward we were, and she was obliged to look the other way all the way to Boston. We got out at the same time with the Wards. They live close to us. . . . Then at last Alice Hooper and I did break the ice. I sat beside her and fortunately we were both disposed to talk and did talk a good deal, and I was so glad.

E. T. E. to E. E.; Boston, Thursday, November 8, 1855:

Alice Hooper and I no longer avoid each other, but we have very little to do with each other. We speak once in a while if we are beside each other in the omnibus, but generally Alice rides with her back to one of her neighbours, facing the way we are going, leaning out of the window a little, without seeming to know there is anybody else in the world. . . .

I always sit with Anna [Ward] in French on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and oh dear you should see how often she wanted to know how many minutes there were, before Miss Ida was coming, and such a punch as I received when we heard her cry "Second French!" as she came through the entry. But that was nothing to the joyful pinching I had to undergo while Miss Ida walked up the room to her seat and at every interval in the recitation we had a little conversation about her.

E. T. E. to E. E.; November 9, 1855:

The other day Mr. Alex in the French class said we *must* speak French. Presently I spoke in English, so I was made to talk French instead. Mrs. Agassiz was there, and after the class she came and said, "Why won't you always speak French, you have a very good accent and a little practice would enable you to talk very well." I was very glad to hear that I had a decent accent but for all that I dare not speak French because all the girls talk English altogether, and I am afraid to speak French. . . . It sounds sort of proud.

E. T. E. to E. E.; December, 1855:

In the omnibus Lizzy Clark and I talk German sometimes and as we speak slowly we have to make violent gestures which create a little sensation in our end of the omnibus. Alice Hooper has gone back to her old way only sometimes she varies it by getting ugly and tormenting her neighbors for room, on which occasions she and they begin to fight and roar, and all around her are stirred up and enjoy it immensely. But the girl who makes the greatest time is Anna Russell. She is a handsome girl with a sort of proud way, and very nice and funny. She comes in only two or three times a week. When she gets in she wants someone to put on her extra shawl for her. Then when that is on she prefers the best side of the omnibus and generally sits there. If it's already full, no matter, she is going to sit there and if others find themselves crowded they may move.

If she likes to sit on the other side, she also likes to put her feet up on the good side and makes the girls give her room. She never makes anybody mad, indeed she amuses them all very much but she is always sure to have things exactly as she chooses. Being seated, she wants to start immediately and not wait for anybody but she doesn't say we shall start till it's time. Then she becomes very decided and the omnibus starts. When we get going she begins. She plagues the girls around her till they are in a roar; then she throws her muff into everybody's face. Then she snatches somebody's else muff and sends it to the other end of the omnibus, gets people's luncheons and pretends to throw them out of the window. Then she grows funny and talks and laughs. But in all this she never does a single thing that isn't just so ladylike. Then she is so handsome!

E. T. E. to Addy; Boston, December 14, 1855:

What do you think my friends condemn me to? *A Dancing School!* A

dancing school where boys go too oh horror! I have been once and Monday night must go again. The first time was not so bad as I expected, for Lizzy Clark who goes to the Agassiz School, whom I like very much, goes there, and she introduced me to Lizzy Washburn who is her friend and goes to the dancing school who danced with me and taught me, and these two were a very effectual help and solace.

I think that this was Papanti's School, recently started in Boston. I remember in my freshman year at Harvard, 1891-92, the school was still going.

On the same day, December 14, she wrote to "Dear Emma." At the end of a long letter she says:

I go to a dancing school! Isn't that pleasant? And there are more boys than girls and I only know three girls. Isn't that pleasant? And I have forgotten all about dancing and experience very much the same sensations, I think, that a clotheshorse would if it were being taught to dance. Isn't that pleasant?

From your German frantic
&
Dancing hating Freund
Ellen

At the end of a letter to Lidian Emerson on January 30, 1856, she says, speaking of an evening gathering at a Mr. MacGregor's house, "Mr. MacGregor sent his kind regards to Father. . . . I was introduced to several people. I talked wonderfully. I danced without mistakes! ! I had a good time! ! !"

E. T. E. to Addy; Boston, January 22-25, 1856 (referring to the girls who were her fellow boarders in Boston):

I never shall get very well acquainted with them I suppose for their interests and conversation is apt to be gentlemen and of course I cannot join, so I am considered "a great stick that never says anything," or a very proud creature considering myself above all the follies and frailties of my race. Several times they have said to me, on finding out that I thought a ribbon was pretty or liked some kind of play, "Why, I never imagined *you* had any such weakness." But lately matters have mended a little and I feel more at home.

On one occasion Ellen Emerson thought she ought to pay for a cab. Her hostess would not allow it. She says (E. T. E. to Lidian Emerson; Wednesday, January 30, 1856):

I was resisted, I stood my ground desperately, but on being told that Mrs. Storer had a bill at the stable and Fanny had no idea how much we ought to pay, I retreated exactly in the state of the little dog who went elephant hunting, as related in my favorite verse.

I am not familiar with this poem which she calls her "favorite verse," but it seems fair to assume that when his master invited him to hunt elephants the dog remembered an important engagement in the next county.

E. T. E. to *Fans*; Boston, February 15, 1856:

Mrs. Ward asked me where Father was, and that reminded me to tell them, as it now reminds me to tell you that yesterday noon I had a letter from him to tell me that after he was here Sunday night he went to see Mrs. Ward and she had persuaded him that I had better stay another year at school, so I need not tell Mr. Agassiz no.

E. T. E. to E. E.; April 1, 1856:

Tell Father Mr. Agassiz has frightened the girls already with the Arctic Regions. The English language was given in to-day. I had a very bad composition indeed, for it was nothing spread over two pages.

E. T. E. to Emma; Cambridge, May 8, 1856:

I go up and down every day in the cars now, as I used to last Autumn and like it even better, it is very pleasant to be waked by a clamour of birds, and I have to depend on that for nobody in the house is an early waker. I have to get up at five now.

E. T. E. to Ralph Waldo Emerson; Concord, Saturday, January 17, 1857:

At the party at Mrs. Longfellow's I had a very [nice] fine time (I scratched out *nice* because I wanted you to understand that I meant something very good indeed) for I was with Miss Ida or Hatty Lowell almost all the evening. Mrs. Longfellow took me into the study and showed me a picture of you connected by a long wreath of evergreen with a picture of Mr. Sumner.

Today Sophy Ripley [later Mrs. James B. Thayer] came with her sewing machine and sewed for mother all the morning. She has just got acquainted with it and said she wanted to show off, and we are all delighted with its works. . . .

Mr. Thoreau has been here twice this week, once to dinner and once to tea. He went to have his Ambrotype taken today, and such a shocking, spectral, black and white picture as Eddy brought home in triumph was never seen. I am to

carry it back, and poor Mr. Thoreau has got to go again. I would write some more, only Edie wants me to go out to walk right now, and Edie's wrath is terrible so I dare not delay any more.

E. T. E. to Cousin Charlotte; March 3, 1857:

Who told you I was a zealous disciple of Mr. Agassiz? I don't think I am. I hear his lectures and am interested in ever so many of them and think he knows exactly how to tell what he knows, so as to make it plain and delightful. I like him as I see him and yet I don't know him, and as to believing his theories, though it seems as if everything he says was true I remember I haven't heard the other side. Mrs. Agassiz is lovely.

Professor Agassiz did not believe in Darwin's theories. Speaking of Alexander Agassiz, she continues:

The son is handsome and I believe a fine young man, but he doesn't love teaching much and so is not very popular at school. For Miss Ida, you can guess how she is held when I tell you that there are not a dozen out of the eighty who do not consider her as I do, and some hardly think of her as a human being and are shocked at anybody's daring to speak of her in any other way than with all deference. I have never seen any of these girls to talk to but I hear from their friends what they say about her. Pauline Agassiz is a beautiful girl with the most gracious and pleasing manners but I do not know her at all though I see her constantly.

This picture of the sixteen-year-old country girl does not coincide with my memories of her. She was not, so far as I saw her, either shy or awkward. She was very intelligent and even-tempered and had a radiant personality. My grandfather Forbes once said to me that she had more of her father in her than any other member of the family.

You have heard what she thought of Miss Ida Agassiz. I quote from a letter from my mother to her sister Ellen of November 29, 1858.

[Miss Ida] began to talk to me. She asked for you and said, "I miss her dreadfully. I hate to go into school now, it seems so strange without her."

Here are some more scraps from some of the youthful letters of my aunt.

E. T. E. to R. W. E.; Concord, January 19, 1857:

When I went to the early train this morning, I was surprised to see that the engine wasn't out yet and presently Mr. Skinner told me that the morning was so bad they dared not start and that the nine o'clock train wouldn't come till

early noon, so I might have a holiday. I was a little sorry for I wanted to try how it felt to go to school through the worst storm of the season, and to be the wonder of the school all day and hear the groans and exclamations and enjoy the small number of scholars and the special story-lecture which Mr. Agassiz always gives those few courageous girls who come through stormy days, like me! So I came home and the children rode, at least Edie did, but Eddy showed the proper spirit and walked to school.

One year after my aunt left the school, the younger sister, my mother, went there also. Her parents arranged to have her live at the house of Dr. Charles Lowell, the older brother of James Russell Lowell. The doctor lived on Quincy Street in the wooden house which still stands between the Faculty Club and the Fogg Museum. Dr. Charles Lowell's daughter Harriet, called by my mother in her letters "Hattie," married George Putnam. I remember when I was in college going into that house as a guest of the Putnams about 1892. Later Professor Farlow, the famous botanist, occupied the house.

Two of Dr. and Mrs. Lowell's children were then living in the house — Harriet and James Jackson Lowell [Harvard, 1858], the first scholar in his class. My mother, who was four years younger than he, spoke frequently of him in her letters, and always spoke of him as "Mr. James." The older brother, Charles Russell Lowell, Jr., was not in Cambridge at the time.

Mr. Greenslet, in his book on the Lowell family, calls Charles Lowell the "Beau Sabreur." He was a man of outstanding capacity and later played an important part in the Battle of Cedar Creek. As Sheridan galloped from Winchester, bringing back with him his routed and fleeing army, he found that Col. Lowell, in charge of a brigade, was holding the left wing. Sheridan asked him if he could hold on a little longer while he re-formed the army. Lowell said he could. In the victorious charge that followed, Lowell was killed. His younger brother James had been killed before that. James Russell Lowell, in the *Biglow Papers*, does honor to his two gallant nephews. After Col. Lowell's death, my father rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel of his regiment.

To return to Quincy Street: once my mother told me that occasionally early in the morning from her chamber window on Quincy Street she saw my father, then a Harvard undergraduate, on his way to chapel. Whether he thought that Quincy Street was included in the straight line

from Holworthy Hall to the recently built Appleton Chapel does not appear. She tells of her first day at school and mentions various girls to her sister.

Edith Emerson to E. T. E.; Cambridge, November 1, 1858:

When I got to school I saw Lizzy Storer in the entry, and Harriet Jackson was sitting in the omnibus. . . . Mrs. Agassiz (who looked particularly lovely) came. . . . I studied Ovid for a time.

Then after school she went to Mrs. Lowell's, met the family — that is, Miss Harriet and James Lowell — and was shown her room.

E. E. to E. T. E.; Cambridge, November 4, 1858:

After tea I was reading in the parlor, and Willy Forbes came in, and brought me a box of beautiful flowers from Ellen and a note inviting me to spend Sunday in Milton. . . . I forgot to say that Mrs. Lowell, Miss Anna and Mr. James had gone to a concert, and Miss Hatty and I were sitting together. While Willy was here, Mr. Higginson came in to see Mr. Lowell, and Mr. J. R. Lowell came and stood in the entry a minute or two. Willy only stayed a little while . . . but while I was collecting my things to go up stairs, Wendell Holmes and "Johnny Morse" (a young gentleman whom I once snubbed in Milton) came in. Wendell Holmes began to talk to me and the other to Miss Hatty so I began to sew. They went away at half past nine.

E. E. to E. T. E.; Cambridge, November 8, 1858:

This afternoon I am going with Julia Felton to explore Mt. Auburn. . . . On Monday, Julia and I took a Mt. Auburn guide book and got into the cars . . . and spent the afternoon in exploring Mt. A. We did not have very much time and I shall have to go again.

E. E. to E. T. E.; November 29, 1858:

In the middle of the lecture today Mr. Agassiz said that there must be no laughing and talking; a few minutes after he stopped and said that inattention was a great fault and he was happy to say that all his pupils were free from that fault with the exception of two. Then he made quite a speech about the necessity of attention before he went on with the lecture. After the lecture as Mrs. Hooper went down stairs she said to Mr. Agassiz "You gave us a very good lecture!" And he said, "I shall have to give a lecture to two of my pupils! They kept on playing the whole way through!"

E. E. to E. T. E.; Cambridge, Saturday, February 5, 1859:

I met Miss Le Clere who asked me to turn and walk with her, which I did

joyfully. We came into Quincy St., and Miss Le C. began to rave about it, she never knew such a delightful street, — a street where there were so many remarkable people, and the greatest charm was that they were all so friendly to each other. Then she caught sight of the moon and stopped. It was very small and beautiful. "Oh let me see the moon! the lovely young moon!" What a pity that I can't give you her voice, and I have forgotten the rest of that little episode.

After it she went on. "Yes there is a great deal of mind in New England. If they were only not so cold! Oh they are like icicles." She asked if I liked their coldness. I said I did not see it perhaps I was cold myself. "Oh try to warm yourself up," and she went on with a long speech about courteous and warm manners like Mrs. Agassiz for instance. "I should be frozen up entirely stiff in this school if it was not for Mrs. Agassiz! One look at her in the morning when she says good morning sets me all aglow. It warms me up for the day." I don't understand who is cold if Mrs. Agassiz is her ideal, for I do not think she is warmer than most people, she has more grace though. I should like to know who she was thinking of as cold. . . . Next she complained of the rudeness of the girls and groaned over their voices.

Professor Felton,¹ who became President of Harvard in 1860, married the sister of Agassiz and settled in Quincy Street and was a great friend of Longfellow. He was one of the teachers in the Agassiz School. He loved Europe and particularly Greece. My mother wanted to study Greek with him but for some reason this did not prove possible at the time.

E. E. to E. T. E.; Cambridge, December 1, 1858:

Isn't it abominable? Mr. Felton says he can't teach Greek this year, except in

¹ Van Wyck Brooks says of him in *The Flowering of New England*, p. 447, ". . . Felton, the great professor of Greek, Longfellow's closest friend and the friend of Dickens, the huge, hearty, old-fashioned scholar who liked to apply the epithet forcible-feeble to those who simulated his own robustness, and who often reminded his hearers that Agamemnon had honoured Ajax with a whole sirloin after his fight with Hector, — for he shared the Homeric enjoyment of eating and drinking, — was lecturing at the Lowell Institute. In Zurich, on his way to Greece, he had put on a suit of armour at the Zeughaus, to the delight of the keeper, and laid about him with a battle-axe, for he wished to know how the crusaders had felt, as well as the heroes of Homer. He had made his own collection of Swiss folk-poems and had visited Jacques Jasmin, the barber-poet, who lived at Agen in Provence and whose *Blind Girl* Longfellow translated; and in Greece he had made friends with farmers and sailors, travelled through the mountains in search of ballads and met all the living Greek writers, whom he brought out in a book of selections. He took the modern world-historical view in his great courses of lectures, which later appeared as *Ancient and Modern Greece*, a delightfully readable work. At Harvard, everything was 'comparative' now; the studies overlapped one another. With the humorous, copious Felton, all fire and energy and poetic feeling, with Asa Gray, the botanist, with Peirce and mathematician and Jeffries Wyman, with Agassiz in the chair of natural history, the lines and angles of the checker-board had gradually faded out." (Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., and Everyman's Library. Published 1936.)

the college vacation, and that's only six weeks! Think how ignorant I shall be! I shall have to begin again next year.

A few months later, however, the lessons in Greek seem to have begun and to be progressing satisfactorily.

E. E. to Edward Waldo Emerson; Cambridge, March 11, 1859:

You know I am reading the piece of Orestes in the reader. The other day I read the line about Menelaus in which Orestes says something like this. "And he comes having the graces of my father" I read it. Mr. Felton did not notice it, but afterwards he was reading it himself he said, "having the graces of a father." I remarked that I thought it meant that as he was his father's brother he would resemble him. Mr. Felton said, "Yes you are right that is better. I did not think of it." So in the next edition the notes will have to be corrected for he has put it his way, and it ought to be mine.

E. E. to Edward Waldo Emerson; Cambridge, March 11, 1859:

When Mr. Felton was in Greece he saw the veritable "Maid of Athens," to whom Byron wrote the poem. I believe he dined with her, at any rate he ate some pickles which she had made. Mr. Felton thought them very nice, and when he was coming home he said to her, "Maid of Athens ere we part, Give oh give me some of your pickles." She gave him a bottle of pickled olives, which he has brought home and keeps on his parlor table as an ornament. I don't know whether it is true that he said this but I have seen the pickles and Molly said, "Those are the Maid of Athens' pickles."

The "Maid of Athens" was popular as a song. Even in the eighties we used to like to sing it.

George Agassiz says, "The winters were full of gayety and merriment . . . in the daytime an hour or two could always be found for skating on Fresh Pond."

On February 15, 1859, my mother speaks of skating on Fresh Pond with James Lowell. She says (E. E. to E. T. E.; Cambridge, Tuesday, February 15, 1859):

In the afternoon right after dinner I went upstairs to get ready to go out skating with Mr. James. . . .

Pauline was on the ice with her brother. You ought to see her skate! There was a gentleman there who was a very good judge—impartial and had seen a great deal of skating, and he said there is no skater on Jamaica who can come up to Pauline, and she is therefore the best in Massachusetts at least. Mr. James was in raptures about it.

E. E. to E. T. E.; Cambridge, Friday, February 18, 1859:

Today we began our new French book. Miss Le Clere was very charming and made it very nice. She told us a good deal of French history and said some very good things. I am going to carry a book to class to write down her sayings. She said today "You have some very good words in English, which we cannot translate — the word *earnestness* is not in French, because there is no such thing in the French character." Think what a confession! "Then there is another fine word in English, — *awe* — we cannot say that, — we have *étonnement* and *admiration* and all such things." And she said it as if she was entirely conscious how absurd and weak they were.

In a long letter she tells of going to hear her father lecture in Boston. Then she, her father, and her mother went to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the wedding of her Uncle Charles and Aunt Susan Jackson. Her father cut the wedding cake for the company.

E. E. to E. T. E.; Cambridge, Saturday, February 26, 1859:

After tea Alice took Mr. Sanborn down to see the minerals and pretty things in the laboratory. And asked me to come too. Then Uncle Charles showed us the stone growing in flowers and Father came down to see. When we went up Alice brought out Uncle Charles's honors from the different kings to show to Mr. Sanborn.

The reference is to the medals given by some of the crowned heads of Europe to her uncle Charles for his discovery of the use of sulphuric ether as an anesthetic.

E. E. to E. T. E.; March 1, 1859:

Nothing happened that was pleasant on Saturday morning. And my rage was kindled against that model of French politeness. The day before she had seen me writing on my letter to you in school. It was only a little while and I learned my lessons just the same. Well when we were reading our French, Lily Ward said she had not got it. I came next and Miss Le Clere passed by me, and then straight on to the next while she said "And *she* had not learned her lesson. She wrote a letter yesterday. La Vas!" I said "I have learned it Miss Le Clere." "Well then read quick! quick!" I never had a teacher before who if she had said such a thing would not beg pardon for it.

In this long March 1 letter, she says, "I am so anxious to hear Mr. Thoreau's lecture — and — I never shall." Perhaps she had a presentiment. He died three years later.

E. E. to E. T. E.; Cambridge, March 24, 1859:

In the morning when I came upstairs at school Lily Ward gave me a package, wrapped in a white paper and sealed with her father's seal, and said, "Father sent you this with his love." I opened it and found a little E. Indian box covered with red and yellow silk, and inside was the most beautiful, carved ivory fan. The ivory is fossil too and came from Siberia. It is beautiful.

(Saturday) But I must tell you about the lecture, for it was one of those little coincidences, which are mentioned in the March "Professor."

Mr. Agassiz was telling us about the fossilized elephants of Siberia. He says that there are so many that the Siberians think that they live now, and that they live under ground, and are so sensitive to light and air that they die if they come out. While the truth is that they lived in the Pliocene period, and have been so well preserved by the cold, that when freshets uncover them, they are found with flesh, hair and skin, all as if they had just died and wolves come out and eat the flesh of animals that died ages before man was created; and Mr. Agassiz said all or almost all the ornaments which came from China and India are carved from the ivory of these elephants. Lily and I looked at each other then.

One day I found among my mother's possessions an ivory fan; and here it is [here the author held up the fan]. *If* is a formidable word. *If* this is the fan that Mr. Ward gave to my Mother, and *if* Professor Agassiz was correct in his statement, and *if* antiquity is more important than beauty — then this fan has the glass flowers beaten to a frazzle!

I hope that you will forgive me again for wandering from my schoolroom subject. I suppose that you all have your favorite spots in Cambridge. It happens that my personal great interest in Cambridge has centered, more or less, in two places — one, Quincy Street, where the Fogg Museum has displaced the Agassiz School, and the Harvard Yard; and, secondly, the region of Elmwood and Gerry's Landing, which belonged to the Elbridge Gerry estate that was sold to the Lowells.

My grandfather Emerson, when he was a student, used to roam in the woods of Sweet Auburn and here is a little story of my mother in her turn doing the same. A long letter of Wednesday, March 30, 1859, tells of going with James Lowell along the river "to a place near the Cambridge cemetery which had little hills and swampy places. . . . As we came to the part where hepaticas grew we saw Mabel Lowell picking up acorns and her father [James Russell Lowell] walking about while he waited for her. [This place may have been Gerry's Landing.]"

The two Mr. Lowells begged my mother to come to Elmwood for supper. The poet's father was living there then; but as the young girl

felt that she was not dressed suitably to go, they parted. Not long after they met the poet and his daughter again and

walked so slowly. . . . that when we all reached Dr. Lowell's gate both Mr. James Lowells said I must come in then right off, so I did. . . . and Mr. James said he would show me the garden before we went in. He seems to love it so much and it is so neglected and delightful. Mr. J.R.L. and Mabel went in but presently came out with Miss Georgina Putnam to welcome us, and then went on again and we walked through the garden. Presently we came to a green terrace with some English violet leaves, and then I saw some buds and then about a dozen single violets in bloom. Just as we were picking Mabel came running out saying "Tea is ready" and we went in.

I stood in the entry taking off my things and trying to make myself respectable while Mr. James waited for me and we heard all the family come down and go into the dining room. When I was ready we went in. Dr. Lowell sat at the head of a long table, — Mr. James went to him and kissed him and said "I've brought Miss Emerson." Shouted I should have said but it had no effect and Dr. L. pointed to his other ear. Mr. James went round to the other ear and so showed me as I had stood behind him. Dr. L. gave me his hand and turned back to hear who I was. Four times Mr. James shouted "Miss Emerson" and four times the answer was "*Who*." Its no use said Mr. J.R.L. Say Ralph Waldo Emerson's daughter. Mr. James did and this time he heard, and seemed very much pleased, said he was glad to see me, shook my hand a long time, asked me to kiss him and said "I knew your father, your grandfather and your great grandfather" (meaning Dr. Ripley as he afterwards said). Then I had to go and speak to every one and at last gained a seat by Mabel.

Mr. Agassiz lived until 1873. In 1861 he went on an exploring expedition into South America at the head of a large party. William James and Tom Ward, the son of Samuel Ward and roommate of Edward Emerson, were two members of the expedition. Agassiz's friend Oliver Wendell Holmes, who used to see him so much at the Saturday Club, wrote a long poem in connection with Agassiz's journey to South America which is a good example of Holmes's clever rhyming.

President Eliot tells this story:

At this time [about 1863] Alexander, his wife and their little boy, the Higginsons — and Mr. Burchhardt — artist for Professor Agassiz — were all living there in addition to Professor and Mrs. Agassiz. As was common then there was only one bathtub in the house; and the tub was not infrequently occupied by turtles or other aquatic or amphibious animals.

One morning Mrs. Agassiz was just finishing dressing and was putting on one of her boots when she became aware that there was something wriggling inside

the boot. She called to her husband who was still asleep in the adjoining room "Oh Agassiz come here there's a snake in my boot." To which he sleepily replied "My dear where can the other five be!"

A school was started on the Island of Penekese, one of the Elizabeth Islands. Agassiz taught there in the summer of 1873. A story was told of him. His students, it is said, constructed a creature using perhaps the wings of a bee, the head of a wasp, and the legs and bodies from other insects, all carefully welded together. They asked Professor Agassiz what this strange creature was. He looked at it and said, "It is a humbug."

Mrs. Agassiz lived in the house until her death in 1907. Professor Alexander Agassiz continued to live in it until his death in 1910.

To go back to the former days in 1857 Longfellow wrote a poem to Agassiz on his fiftieth birthday.

It was fifty years ago
In the pleasant month of May,
In the beautiful Pays de Vaud,
A child in its cradle lay.

And Nature, the old nurse, took
The child upon her knee,
Saying: "Here is a story-book
Thy Father has written for thee."

"Come, wander with me," she said,
"Into regions yet untrod;
And read what is still unread
In the manuscripts of God."

And he wandered away and away
With Nature, the dear old nurse,
Who sang to him night and day
The rhymes of the universe.

And whenever the way seemed long,
Or his heart began to fail,
She would sing a more wonderful song,
Or tell a more marvellous tale.

So she keeps him still a child,
And will not let him go,
Though at times his heart beats wild
For the beautiful Pays de Vaud;

Though at times he hears in his dreams
The Ranz des Vaches of old,
And the rush of mountain streams
From glaciers clear and cold;
And the mother at home says, "Hark!
For his voice I listen and yearn;
It is growing late and dark,
And my boy does not return!"

A few days after the meeting at which the preceding paper was read, President Walcott called my attention to the following letter which appears in the first four pages of Madame de Hegermann-Lindencrone's² volume *In the Courts of Memory, 1858-1875*, published by Harper & Brothers in 1912:

Cambridge, 1856

Dear M., — You say in your last letter, "Do tell me something about your school." If I only had the time, I could write volumes about my school, and especially about my teachers.

To begin with, Professor Agassiz gives us lectures on zoölogy, geology, and all other ologies, and draws pictures on the blackboard of trilobites and different fossils, which is very amusing. We call him "Father Nature," and we all adore him and try to imitate his funny Swiss accent.

Professor Pierce, who is, you know, the greatest mathematician in the world, teaches us mathematics and has an awful time of it; we must be very stupid, for the more he explains, the less we seem to understand, and when he gets on the rule of three we almost faint from dizziness. If he would only explain the rule of one! The Harvard students say that his book on mathematics is so intricate that not one of them can solve the problems.

We learn history and mythology from Professor Felton, who is very near-sighted, wears broad-brimmed spectacles, and shakes his curly locks at us when he thinks we are frivolous. He was rather nonplussed the other day, when Louise Child read out loud in the mythology lesson something about "Jupiter and ten." "What," cried Mr. Felton, "what are you reading? You mean 'Jupiter and Io,' don't you?" "It says ten here," she answered.

Young Mr. Agassiz teaches us German and French; we read Balzac's *Les Chouans* and Schiller's *Wallenstein*.

² Madame de Hegermann-Lindencrone, the writer of these letters, which give so vivid a picture of the brilliant court of the last Napoleon, is wife of the present Danish Minister to Germany. She was formerly Miss Lillie Greenough, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she lived with her grandfather, Judge Fay, in the fine old Fay mansion, now the property of Radcliffe College.

Our Italian teacher, Luigi Monti, is a refugee from Italy, and has a sad and mysterious look in his black eyes; he can hardly speak English, so we have things pretty much our own way during the lessons, for he cannot correct us. One of the girls, translating *capelli neri*, said "black hats," and he never saw the mistake, though we were all dying of laughter.

No one takes lessons in Greek from long-bearded, fierce-eyed Professor Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles, so he is left in peace. He does not come more than once a week anyway, and then only to say it is no use his coming at all.

Cousin James Lowell replaces Mr. Longfellow the days he can't come. He reads selections of "literary treasures," as he calls them, and on which he discourses at length. He seems very dull and solemn when he is in school; not at all as he is at home. When he comes in of an afternoon and reads his poems to auntie and to an admiring circle of cousins and sisters-in-law, they all roar with laughter, particularly when he reads them with a Yankee accent. He has such a rippling little giggle while reading, that it is impossible not to laugh.

The other day he said to me, "Cousin Lillie, I will take you out for a walk in recess." I said, "Nothing I should like better, but I can't go." "Why not?" said he. "Because I must go and be a beggar." "What do you mean?" he asked. "I mean that there is a duet that Mrs. Agassiz favors just now, from Meyerbeer's 'Le Prophète,' where she is beggar number one and I am beggar number two." He laughed. "You are a lucky little beggar, anyway. I envy you." "Envy me? I thought you would pity me," I said. "No, I do not pity you, I envy you being a beggar with a voice!"

I consider myself a victim. In recess, when the other girls walk in Quincy Street and eat their apples, Mrs. Agassiz lures me into the parlor and makes me sing duets with her and her sister, Miss Cary. I hear the girls filing out of the door, while I am caged behind the piano, singing, "Hear Me, Norma," wishing Norma and her twins in Jericho.

There are about fourteen pupils now; we go every morning at nine o'clock and stay till two o'clock. We climb up the three stories in the Agassiz house and wait for our teachers, who never are on time. Sometimes school does not begin for half an hour.

Mrs. Agassiz comes in, and we all get up to say good morning to her. As there is nothing else left for her to teach, she teaches us manners. She looks us over, and holds up a warning finger smilingly. She is so sweet and gentle.

I don't wonder that you think it extraordinary that all these fine teachers, who are the best in Harvard College, should teach us; but the reason is, that the Agassiz's have built a new house and find it difficult to pay for it, so their friends have promised to help them to start this school, and by lending their names they have put it on its legs, so to speak.

The other day I was awfully mortified. Mr. Longfellow, who teaches us literature, explained all about rhythm, measures, and the feet used in poetry. The idea of poetry having feet seemed so ridiculous that I thought out a beautiful

joke, which I expected would amuse the school immensely; so when he said to me in the lesson, "Miss Greenough, can you tell me what blank verse is?" I answered promptly and boldly, "Blank verse is like a blank-book; there is nothing in it, not even feet," and looked around for admiration, but only saw disapproval written everywhere, and Mr. Longfellow, looking very grave, passed on to the next girl. I never felt so ashamed in my life.

Mr. Longfellow, on passing our house, told aunty that he was coming in the afternoon, to speak to me; aunty was worried and so was I, but when he came I happened to be singing Schubert's "Dein ist mein Herz," one of aunty's songs, and he said, "Go on. Please don't stop." When I had finished he said:

"I came to scold you for your flippancy this morning, but you have only to sing to take the words out of my mouth, and to be forgiven."

"And I hope you will forget," I said, penitently.

"I have already forgotten," he answered, affectionately. "How can one be angry with a dear little bird? But don't try again to be so witty."

"Never again, I promise you."

FORTY YEARS IN THE FOGG MUSEUM

BY LAURA DUDLEY SAUNDERSON

Read January 19, 1954

UNFORTUNATELY I, alone, remain to tell of the early days of the Fogg Museum. That is one reason why I stress those years. The other is that Edward Forbes has consented to tell you, in the not too distant future, the story of its flowering. He was so intimately connected with all its activities, and personally responsible for so many, that he can give you a much better picture than I of those later years.

On a summer day in 1895 I entered the Fogg Museum for the first time. There was nobody in the building but Charles Eveleth, who sat at the front door on guard. The building was not to be opened to the public until September first, but casts and photographs were being delivered, and Charles Eveleth was there to receive them. He was a childhood friend of mine. He knew my interest in the fine arts and had suggested that I go in and see the building. The rooms were empty except for packing-cases.

It must have been more than two years before I entered the building again — then in response to a note I had received from Professor Charles Herbert Moore, Director of the Museum. He had written me that the Gray Collection of Engravings, which had been lent by the University to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, had been brought to the Fogg Museum and installed there. He wanted somebody who cared for such things to catalogue that collection and administer it. I had been a student in his fine arts courses in Radcliffe College and he knew my work and interests. He offered the position to me. I decided to accept it and began my duties in November, 1897.

The Fogg Museum was then what is now Hunt Hall, so named because it was designed by the architect, Richard Morris Hunt of New York. It was the bequest of Mrs. William Hayes Fogg in memory of her husband, who died in 1884. It is said that the bequest was made at the suggestion of William M. Prichard of the Class of 1833. It was he who gave to the University the Prichard fund, the very first money

ever given to the University exclusively for the purchase of works of art.

Mr. Fogg was born on a farm in Berwick, Maine, December 27, 1817. He lost his father when he was only eight years old and his mother fourteen years later, so that the boy was largely dependent upon himself. His schooling was limited, and at fourteen he went into a country store as clerk. In 1847, after an unsuccessful business venture, he became a partner in the firm of Fogg Brothers. After the death of his brother, James, in 1855, the firm name was changed to William H. Fogg and Company and was very successful, devoted entirely to the Chinese trade. In 1880, the firm was dissolved, but the business was carried on under the name of the China and Japan Trading Company, of which Mr. Fogg was president until his death.

The Fogg Museum, in the early days, was devoted chiefly to reproductions of works of art — casts, photographs, and lantern slides. The only originals were Greek vases and other classical objects, a few water-colors, and prints.

The main entrance hall on the ground floor was devoted to plaster casts of the finest examples of Greek sculpture, with a portion of the Parthenon frieze as a frieze around the hall. The great statue of Apollo from the temple of Zeus at Olympia guarded the impressive stairway leading to the second floor. A visitor to the Museum in those early days asked Professor Moore if that was a statue of Edward Everett Hale. The rooms on the east side of the sculpture hall, a large front room, and a smaller one in the rear, were devoted to Greek vases and other classical objects. Corresponding rooms on the west side held objects from the Fogg Collection — furniture, including a huge, elaborately carved bed. The smaller room contained oriental objects, declared by Mr. Francis S. Kershaw, of the Museum of Fine Arts, when he came to look at them, "made for the American trade." On the walls hung the best of the Fogg paintings, but these were of little or no value. During the year '97-'98, the Corporation decided that all objects in the Fogg Collection that might be classed as furniture could be turned over to the residuary legatees, according to Mrs. Fogg's will. That relieved the Museum of some large pieces that occupied much-needed space — including the bed. Later, that bed played an important part in the household of a member of the Fogg family, and occupancy of the bed was offered as an inducement to prospective visitors.

The walls of the hallway of the second floor were hung with reproductions of Italian drawings. A picture gallery occupied the middle part of that floor. It was top-lighted in the center of a flat roof, so that there was a glare of light on the floor in the center of the gallery, but the walls were in shadow. In the summer, when the sun was high, the light was blinding, and in the winter, when several inches of snow covered the glass, one scarcely knew it was daytime. Carbon photographs of great works of art, measuring about 22 by 28 inches, in plain oak frames, were exhibited in the gallery. These frames had removable backs to permit the exhibition to be changed.

The east end of that floor was devoted to the Print Department, the larger space to the storage and exhibition of prints, with a small lecture room opening from it on the south. The equipment for the Print Room had been made by Davenport of Boston at great expense. Exhibition cases covered the walls, below which were cupboards for small prints. Larger prints were stored on sliding shelves in large dust-proof cases, on top of which were slanting exhibition cases. A large table, for use in the study and handling of prints, occupied the middle of that room.

At the west end of the second floor was the Photograph Room, connected with the picture gallery by double doors, and south of it the director's office. The walls of three sides of the Photograph Room were lined with cases in which the photographs were filed, and in the center of the room were tables used in connection with the photographs. At the end adjoining the director's office, the work of both the Photograph Department and the Print Department was done. All callers to the director's office passed through the door connecting that office with the Photograph Room, so that we usually knew who the callers were and on what errand they came. For some time, one revolving bookcase held our entire reference library, with the exception of the books belonging to the Print Collection, which were stored in the Print Room. As time went on, shelves were built at one end of the Photograph Room to accommodate our growing library. Obviously only one arrangement was possible — by size, regardless of content. It was amazing how a little rearrangement made a few inches of space available. Books were being added constantly so that it became necessary to arrange them more scientifically, and to have a catalogue of them. There was no librarian to perform that task and it fell to my lot. That work was begun in 1914-15.

I sought advice of T. Franklin Currier, librarian in charge of cataloguing in the Harvard College Library, with the result that the Harvard system of classification was adopted. By using shelves built in the director's office the book problem was simplified for a few years. Then the time came when I was so crowded that it was necessary to move a scrap-basket to open the drawers on one side of my desk, and a chair to open those on the other.

All the windows, with the exception of a tiny one in the director's office and a corresponding one in the small lecture room connected with the Print Room, were so high that all one could see of the outside world was the tops of the trees, but the lover of birds could sometimes recognize a familiar figure in a tree-top.

One day, before the day of the silent alarm, I heard the Cambridge fire alarm. The fire was in Thayer Hall, and I looked out of that little window. In the meantime the college fire apparatus was put into action. Very dramatically the students unrolled the hose and played the part of firemen. Students whose rooms were in that dormitory were busy salvaging their belongings. Breakable objects were thrown out the windows, unbreakables were lowered carefully on ropes, and friends of the victims gathered together in piles the owners' possessions, standing guard over them. Finally the fire department arrived and took over the job, and a cheer such as only a student body can give rose from the crowd that had assembled. Little damage was done but the scare caused great excitement.

At the rear of the building was the large lecture hall with raised platform and raised seats, and a row of pillars a few feet from the outside wall. One day, when Dr. Edmund von Mach was lecturing to a class on the glories of Greek art, he stepped off the platform in his enthusiasm, landed on his feet, and continued as if nothing had happened. The acoustic properties of the hall were very bad, and on the recommendation of Professor Wallace C. Sabine, a specialist in acoustics, draperies were hung over the walls at one time to absorb the sound, giving the room a most extraordinary appearance. It was regularly said that the room was too large for small classes and too small for large ones. The lecture room was entered either from the Sculpture Hall of the Museum or from the College Yard through a small vestibule at the west. Into this same vestibule works of art were received, after having been

carried up a flight of steps, and there unpacked, unless they were small enough to be taken down a flight of stairs into the dark basement to be unpacked, only to be carried up again. Mr. Forbes described the building as follows: "A building with a lecture hall where you could not hear, a gallery in which you could not see, working-rooms where you could not work, and a roof that leaked like a sieve."

When I took up my work in the Fogg Museum in November, 1897, there were, in addition to the director, Professor Moore, an assistant in charge of photographs, a janitor, and an errand-boy, whose duty it was to take out and put away slides and photographs, to run the lantern, guard the door when the janitor was busy elsewhere, and go on errands — to the library, post office, stores in Harvard Square, or to Boston. The problem of the errand-boy was a very real one, for the boy who was good enough for us was too ambitious to remain in the kind of work that offered no advancement. The result was we had a long list of boys, changing frequently. The boys left to pursue various walks in life. One studied for the priesthood, one went to dental school. I saw one driving a mail truck. One of the quickest, most faithful boys we ever had came to us with this recommendation from the master of the school he attended: "He is not a successful student of books and he is sometimes playful in school." When Professor Moore passed me the letter to read, I said, "That doesn't unfit him for us." The boy came and was a great success. He was always not only willing, but eager to do anything helpful. In the course of time he left us to take a position in a bank. Later, he took over an established business and carried it to great success.

The building was intended for reproductions of art only and was designed and built without consulting the members of the Fine Arts Department, the very ones who were to use it and knew its needs. Professor Charles Eliot Norton's displeasure was well known. On March 16, 1896, it was labelled on the south in crimson paint, "Norton's pride." Suspicion pointed to a Med Fac initiation, but I believe the culprit was never discovered.

The Gray Collection, of which I had charge, had been given by Francis Calley Gray, Harvard 1809, who died in 1856, to his nephew, William Gray, with instructions to give it to Harvard College or some such institution. For some years it had been housed in an alcove of the College Library, old Gore Hall, but as the number of books increased,

the space occupied by the Gray Collection was needed for books. During those years there were several curators, George Herbert Palmer, Louis Thies, and E. H. Greenleaf, in succession. About this time the Museum of Fine Arts was built in Copley Square. It has been said that some people contributed to the building of that museum with the expectation that the Gray Collection would be housed there. Paintings were borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum, and in 1876, the Gray Collection was lent to the Museum for a term of seven years. Twice that loan was renewed, so that the Gray Collection spent twenty-one years in Boston.

Later Miss Belinda L. Randall gave to the College the prints collected by her brother, Dr. John Witt Randall, Harvard 1834, who died in 1892. This collection, numbering about twenty thousand prints, was also lent to the Museum of Fine Arts, and both collections were under the curatorship of Sylvester Rosa Koehler.

The first report on the Fogg Museum, signed by Martin Brimmer and Edward W. Hooper, and reprinted from the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* of March, 1895, makes this statement about the print collections belonging to the College:

This College has now on deposit there [The Museum of Fine Arts] its "Gray Collection" and its "John Witt Randall Collection" of engravings, and from the income of its Gray and Randall funds it pays a large part of the salary of Mr. Koehler as curator of engravings. These collections, in accordance with an agreement made five years ago, are to remain in Boston for two years more, and it is doubtful if it will ever be advantageous to transfer them to the Fogg Museum, because for teaching about art and artists, engravings are of much less use than they formerly were. Except in the case of original work of great artists like the engravings of Dürer and the etchings of Rembrandt, photographs have almost wholly superseded engravings as secondary evidence about great works of art. For teaching about the art of engraving and the history of its processes, the Gray and Randall collections are very valuable, but that teaching is more needed in Boston than in Cambridge. The original work of Dürer, of Rembrandt, and a few other artists in the Gray Collection is of great interest, but it can easily be seen in Boston, or even be taken to Cambridge for special exhibitions from time to time.

William Gray, in a letter to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, dated January 26, 1857, made this stipulation concerning the Gray Collection: "That the College within a reasonable time prepare

and fit up suitable rooms in which the collection shall be securely kept, and properly arranged for inspection and exhibition."

"Suitable rooms" were now available and it was at last possible for the College to fulfill the agreement it virtually made in accepting the gift from Mr. Gray. In spite of that fact, it was only in the face of bitter opposition that Professor Moore succeeded in persuading the Corporation to bring the Gray Collection back to Cambridge. This was accomplished in 1897. After that was done, Professor Moore said it was logical now to bring back the Randall Collection, which was done in 1898.

Preliminary work had been done on both collections while under the curatorship of Mr. Koehler, but the task of having the prints properly mounted, arranged systematically, and catalogued, was mine. It was my aim to make the Print Collection — Gray, Randall, and Museum, the latter consisting of those prints given to the Museum, a total of roughly thirty thousand — as useful as possible in every way to all departments of the University and to all students of any subject which could be illustrated with prints.

Exhibitions were often arranged with that purpose in view. For example, an exhibition of prints illustrating decorative arts was put up at the time a course in decorative arts was given. For a course given in the English Department, "London in the Time of Dryden" was illustrated with prints.

There were not many visitors to the Print Collection in those early years. A very gracious, elderly gentleman, the father of Professor Sabine, was a frequent visitor, and if I remember correctly, looked through the whole Gray Collection in one winter. Professor Charles Eliot Norton dropped in occasionally to look about the gallery and to see the prints on exhibition. His remarks were always illuminating. One day, looking at a picture in the gallery and the label which read, "Loaned by" so and so, he said, "You loan money, but you lend works of art."

When Professor Moore gave a course in the history of engraving, the students in his course were frequent visitors to the Print Department. One tangible result of that course was a book by one of his students, T. H. Thomas, *French Portrait Engraving*, one of the best books on engraving, for it describes, as few books do, the technique of the engravers.

There must have been a discussion in class one morning about the

way Mantegna manipulated his tool to produce the kind of lines which are characteristic of his work. Apparently no conclusion was reached, for at the close of the hour, a group of students came to me, expecting me to solve their problem. When I confessed I didn't know, I felt that they thought if I didn't know that I knew nothing whatever about prints. The following summer I was in London, and put that question to Sir Sidney Colvin, then Keeper of Prints in the British Museum, and at that time the world's greatest authority on early Italian engraving. His answer was, "I don't know. Nobody knows. If you should ask two practical engravers, they would probably give you two different answers." That was the best lesson I ever had not to be afraid to say, "I don't know."

One of the students to take that course of Professor Moore's the first year it was given was Arthur Pope. Calling my attention to him one day, Professor Moore said, "There is a young man who will be outstanding." His prophecy proved correct, for Mr. Pope rose to a full professorship, and after the retirement of Mr. Forbes and Mr. Sachs, was acting director of the Fogg Museum, then director, until the appointment of John Coolidge. His unerring taste and sound judgment made him invaluable to all departments of the Museum. His feeling for line, form, and color, and his thorough knowledge of the principles of design, together with his fine taste, fitted him perfectly to be of the greatest assistance in the arranging of exhibitions which drew enthusiastic praise from distinguished visitors. His courses in drawing and painting and principles of design, together with Mr. Forbes' course in the processes of painting, gave students a very rare and most valuable foundation for the understanding of great works of art.

I remember, in the early days, seeing him make a copy of Turner's watercolor of Tintagel Castle, lent to the Museum by Francis Bullard. It was a very meticulous piece of work, for Turner had painted it as a guide to the engraver. Later, Mr. Pope's style became more free. We had an exhibition of his work some years later. I was looking at his paintings with an artist, who was a teacher of drawing and painting. She said that when she saw him making such careful copies of Turner, she had no idea he would ever produce such paintings as those on exhibition. When I repeated her remark to Mr. Pope, he said, "If I hadn't done that then, I couldn't do this now."

The original works of art acquired by loan or by purchase in the

earliest years consisted of Greek vases and other classical objects, watercolors, and prints. The Fine Arts Department deposited permanently in the Museum such photographs, watercolors, and prints as it had in the drawing room in Sever Hall (Sever 37) which were not needed for use there. Purchases of prints were made from the Gray and Randall funds, of watercolors and prints from the Fine Arts appropriation. It was not until Edward Waldo Forbes, Harvard 1895, took an active interest in the art museum of his alma mater that important original paintings and pieces of sculpture were acquired, and in his report on the Museum for 1903-04, Professor Moore named him as the "first and most constant benefactor."

One morning, about 1900, Professor Moore told me, with much enthusiasm, that he was to have lunch with "a rich young man." I learned later that Edward Forbes had been his host. Mr. Forbes had spent much time in Europe after graduating from college, had visited galleries and museums, and studied the works of the great masters. He had purchased works of art, then to be had at a mere fraction of their present value. He realized the need of just such works of art in the Fogg Museum and offered to help supply that need with gifts and indefinite loans. He interested members of his family, his friends, and his Harvard class to do the same. That offer dates the beginning of the acquisition of important original paintings, sculpture, and all kinds of art objects which have made the Fogg Museum one of the greatest art museums in the country, and for the student, one of the best in the world.

In his report for the year 1899-1900, Professor Moore wrote, "The University owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Forbes, not only for the initiative which he has so generously taken in providing our Museum with original works of art of the great historic schools, but also for the high standard which he has set in the works already secured." Mr. Forbes was a frequent visitor to the Museum from that time, not only to look at the paintings for which he was responsible, but to make a copy of at least one of them.

One morning in the spring of 1909, Professor Moore stopped at my desk on his way to his office, and said, "Miss Dudley, next year you will have a new director. Edward Forbes will be your director." I was stunned. As I told a friend later, I felt that the bottom had dropped out of my pail. It had never occurred to me that the Museum would have

any other director than Professor Moore, and I couldn't imagine going on without him. He had always been so considerate, so thoughtful, and so very kind, I couldn't believe that another could equal him. Professor Moore sailed for England early in the summer, never to return. He built a house in Hartley-Wintney, where I visited him, and where he died February 15, 1930.

Charles Herbert Moore, a pupil and friend of John Ruskin, had been appointed instructor in free-hand drawing in 1871, in 1879 instructor in drawing and principles of design, in 1891 assistant professor of design in the fine arts, and professor of art in 1896. At the suggestion of Richard Norton, son of Professor Charles Eliot Norton, to Mr. Forbes, friends and former pupils of Professor Moore gave to the Museum two very fine watercolors by John Ruskin, in recognition of his devoted service to the Museum and to the University.

Mr. Forbes began his duties officially in September, 1909, but he made frequent visits to the Museum during the preceding summer, and I soon found that my new director was no less thoughtful and kind than Professor Moore had been. Members of the Fine Arts Department and many outside visitors came to consult him on all kinds of subjects, often I thought, out of curiosity to see what kind of a person this young new director was. Then, and in all the years that followed, I marvelled at his patience. No problem was too trivial to demand his attention, and no task too menial to claim his help. Many a time I have seen him play the part of laborer in helping the yard men move heavy objects. For more than thirty-five years he gave unstintedly of his time, his strength, his money, and his interest to the Fogg Museum. When Harvard conferred on him an honorary A.M. in 1921, I was present, and I heard President Lowell use this citation: "Edward Waldo Forbes, Director of the Fogg Art Museum, whose tenacity of purpose in acquiring for the University the Riverside land, and works of art for its Museum, has achieved the incredible." No truer words were ever spoken and I joined with greatest enthusiasm in the applause which followed this well-deserved and wisely-bestowed honor.

Professor Moore had been both chairman of the Fine Arts Department and Director of the Fogg Museum. Now Professor George H. Chase was appointed chairman of the department. A distinguished scholar, a most able executive, whose important duties filled a busy day,

he could always find time to help anyone who asked him for assistance. He gave invaluable help on innumerable occasions. Students often asked my advice about choice of courses, and I always told them that if they ever expected to teach or present a subject to an audience to take some course with Professor Chase and study the way he arranged his material and presented it.

Up to the time Mr. Forbes became director, a record of a sort had been kept of every work of art either permanently acquired or lent to the Museum. Now, Mr. Forbes introduced the system used at that time by the Museum of Fine Arts, and every uncatalogued work of art, except Japanese and Chinese art, was registered and numbered as a possession or loan, and receipts were sent to all donors and lenders. Inasmuch as there was no registrar, that task fell to me until we moved into the present building, when, with greatly increased number of gifts and loans, a registrar was appointed who could devote full time to this important task.

The need of funds was pressing. Works of art were coming into the market and there was no money to purchase objects which would add greatly to the usefulness of the Museum. Mr. Forbes started the "Friends of the Fogg Museum" in 1912-13. People known to be interested in the fine arts and in the Fogg Museum were asked to contribute money to a fund to be used for the purchase of works of art. That Society has grown, and from that fund some notable acquisitions have been made, for example: The Annunciation by Andrea Vanni (the first acquisition), and twelve of the 12th century Romanesque capitals.

Years later, after we had moved into the present building, I was settled for a quiet reading one Sunday afternoon when my telephone rang. It was the superintendent of the Fogg Museum to tell me that a gentleman from New York was there to see the print exhibition. The cubicles used for the exhibition of prints were monopolized by something else and the only prints on exhibition were in the Print Room, which was closed on Sundays. I agreed to go to the Museum and open the Print Room, but, I said, "We have only a few Rembrandts on exhibition." I sat at my desk while the man looked about the room. Then he came, sat down, and said, "You said there were only a few Rembrandts on exhibition. There are two or three of these that are worth a trip from New York to see." After a pleasant conversation, he asked, "What is meant by 'Friends of the Fogg'?" I explained. He said he couldn't give much but would make a

small contribution. A few days later someone came down from the office to know about my "friend" who had sent a check for fifty dollars. This was in November, for his errand at that time was to attend the Harvard-Yale football game. In January another check for fifty dollars came. I felt that a portion of my Sunday afternoon had been well spent.

The first loan exhibition ever held in the Fogg and the first exhibition of oriental art, was arranged by Walter M. Cabot, Harvard 1894, in 1907-08 and consisted of Japanese objects — paintings, drawings, and ornamental carvings from his own collection. In the following year, while the Museum of Fine Arts was moving from the old building in Copley Square to the new museum on Huntington Avenue, some of its most important treasures (nineteen paintings and sixteen pieces of sculpture) were shown at the Fogg Museum and Boston Museum's June Bulletin was devoted to the Fogg Museum.

After Mr. Forbes became director, every year saw one or more special loan exhibitions, sometimes of one artist or one school, also loans of single paintings. These exhibitions were often opened with private views and accompanied by lectures, open not only to students in the Fine Arts Department and the University, but to the general public. Gallery conferences were often held.

One of the most important of the early exhibitions was of the paintings by Degas, the principal exhibition of the year 1910-11, and the first exhibition of his paintings ever held in Boston. The exhibition lasted ten days. There were 64 visitors the first day and 533 the last day. Owing to insufficient space, it was necessary for the 19th century French paintings to share the gallery with our Italian primitives. One visitor, pointing to one of the primitives, said to me, "That is by Degas, isn't it?"

During the years that followed, in the new museum as in the old, students in the Fine Arts Department and the general public had an unprecedented opportunity to see exhibitions of such different subjects as the works of the English painter Turner, early manuscripts, Italian primitives, early Italian engravings in memory of Francis Bullard, drawings by old masters, French art from the 9th century to the present day, works of Rembrandt, works of William Blake: paintings, watercolors, sketches, engravings, and books. Twenty-five years ago there was an exhibition of French paintings, prints, and drawings of the 19th and 20th centuries. One critic called it "one of the most comprehensive and

notable exhibitions of modern French art ever held in this country." It attracted over fifteen thousand visitors, exclusive of students, in four weeks. Italian sculpture from the Dreyfus Collection was an exhibition of great importance. Then there were exhibitions of Graeco-Buddhist art, Russian and Byzantine paintings of the 18th to the 20th centuries, contemporary American watercolors, and Gauguin. Sometimes the students arranged exhibitions of works of art which they owned, and in later years, students in Professor Sachs' course in museum problems arranged special exhibitions, doing all of the work themselves.

Year after year, in his annual report, Professor Moore stressed the need of additional space, especially an adequately lighted picture gallery, also a suitable space for receiving and unpacking works of art. His recommendation was the addition of a wing, also additional endowment for administration and purchases. The time was not ripe to make a drastic change, but money was given to improve the old building. In 1912, Alfred Atmore Pope, of Farmington, Connecticut, gave money to improve the ground floor, especially by reducing the size of the lecture room. Money was given the following year by a group of friends, notably Mrs. Edward M. Cary, to remodel the second story by raising the roof, making the ceiling all of glass, and utilizing waste space, thus making the building much more useful and infinitely more comfortable.

The improved building was opened with a special loan exhibition of manuscripts and Persian miniatures, February 3, 1914.

Paul Joseph Sachs, Harvard 1900, came to the Museum as assistant director September 1, 1915. Later he was made full professor and associate director. He had visited the Museum in his student days, for he had taken courses in the fine arts and had collected prints and drawings. Immediately his enthusiastic interest was a stimulus to all. The courses which he gave at Harvard and Radcliffe brought to the Museum a large group of serious students. His course in museum problems prepared his students for positions in colleges and museums. Many of them have already made their mark as teachers, curators, or museum directors, and are to be found from coast to coast.

He was in Europe in 1920-21, and when he returned, he threw on my desk a collection of printed pictures, which, to the uninitiated, might have been taken for a mass of newspaper clippings. He said, "There, Miss Dudley, is your life work." There were roughly about a thousand pieces

of paper. I recognized at once illustrations from early printed books, and I knew that an exciting time lay ahead. This was a collection of woodcuts, cut from early printed books and used as working material by one who had written about book-illustration. When he had finished with this collection, he had sold it to Mr. Sachs, who presented it to the Museum.

From about 1460, many of the early woodcuts were made as illustrations for printed books. I had been making a special study of early book-illustrations with a view to gathering together material offered not only by the Museum, but also the Harvard College Library, for the benefit of students interested in the history of woodcutting. It is amazing how many of those cuts I succeeded in identifying. In many cases I could find out not only the work which the woodcut illustrated but the particular edition from which the picture was cut.

Professor Sachs had previously (1914-15) presented also an original wood-block which I recognized as Florentine. I spent many hours unsuccessfully trying to identify the subject and the book for which the block was cut as an illustration. It happened that the Harvard College Library had acquired a collection of books containing the sermons of Savonarola, among which were some printed in Florence. Later, a collection of *Sacre Rappresentazioni* had been purchased for the Library. I borrowed some of these books and I arranged an exhibition of illustrated books in the Print Room and included in the exhibition the Florentine wood-block. Dr. George Parker Winship, then in charge of rare books in the Harvard College Library, came into the Museum one morning, drew from his green bag two little books, remarking, "Perhaps you will like to see these, I don't know why they were not sent to us with the others." I picked up one, opened it, and there was the very subject of our wood-block but in an earlier edition of the work. Excitedly, I called to Professor Sachs to "come quick." He said he thought that nothing less than a fire could cause me so much excitement.

When Professor Sachs gave a course in the history of engraving he asked me to deliver some of the lectures, and most generously allowed me to make my choice. This I did, but I refrained from taking the giants like Dürer and Rembrandt, my real favorites, for I felt that the course was his and he ought to have the pleasure of presenting the masters.

About ten o'clock one morning his secretary came to me and said

that Professor Sachs was ill and would be unable to meet the students in his print course the following day, and asked if I would take the class. I said I would do so and asked what point they had reached in the history of engraving. She said they had just finished Dürer, and asked if I had something I could use. I replied that I had a lecture on Altdorfer but it was of one hour in length, but if I could have some slides made I could expand it to two hours, for at this time Professor Sachs met his class for a two-hour session once a week. She said I might do anything I pleased. I went at once and inquired about having slides made so that I could take them home with me and have them to work on during the evening. I learned I could have them if I could furnish the material for them by twelve o'clock. Then followed a very busy two hours, for, since we had no original prints of the subjects I wished, the problem was to find reproductions good enough to make satisfactory slides. I had wanted more Altdorfer slides, and this gave me a good excuse to have them made. I had no time to think of anything else. I did notice, however, that the students who took the course were all busy studying. There was absolute silence. My assistant came and told me the reason for this sudden and extraordinary interest in prints. It seems that in a recent examination they had all fallen down very badly and Professor Sachs had threatened to give them another examination without warning. They knew he was ill, and they thought, quite naturally, that this was the psychological moment for him to spring that surprise "test," as they called it. They saw me going back and forth with slides in my hands and were perfectly certain that forebode the threatened examination. I charged my assistant not to reveal the true situation. I said they needed to work and we would let them work. My material was ready at noon and I took the slides home with me that night. When I met the class the next day, I said, "I understand you expect a test. You are going to have a test, but it is not the kind of a test you expect. The test is whether you can stand it to listen to me while I talk to you for two hours about Albrecht Altdorfer." I was greeted with the heartiest applause I ever received.

Miss Margaret E. Gilman, A.M., Radcliffe 1916, came to the Fogg as secretary in the year 1916-17, and for more than thirty years was a valuable member of the staff. For ten years she edited the *Fogg Museum Notes*, replaced by the *Bulletin* in 1931-32. She did other editorial work and rendered invaluable service in research for the catalogue, entitled

Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings published in 1919, which she and Mr. Forbes prepared. Other publications of the Museum include *Art Studies* in 1923-24, a series of thirty reproductions of water-colors by William Blake, *Illustrations to Young's Night Thoughts*, *Technical Studies*, and many catalogues of special exhibitions.

In the early 1920's, Alan Burroughs, Harvard 1920, of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts came to the Museum to interest Mr. Forbes in the examination of paintings with the x-ray to determine their condition, for the shadowgraphs show the layers of paint on the panel or canvas, and reveal repainting, and betray the work of the restorer. Mr. Forbes was definitely interested, and Mr. Burroughs soon began his work at the Museum. George Leslie Stout, University of Iowa 1921, Rutherford J. Gettens, a chemist, and others joined him and they built up the Department of Conservation and Restoration in which many young men and young women were trained in the examination and restoration of works of art. They went still further and studied the means of preventing deterioration before it occurs. Members of the Department have been lent to other museums, even those in Europe, and students trained at the Fogg have gone forth now to establish just such departments in other museums, carrying on, all over the country, the important work initiated at the Fogg. Mr. Forbes once said to me, "We are but custodians here and it is our duty to preserve works of art for future generations." His wisdom and courage will be the means of preserving for generations to come the many wonderful works of art which have already come to this country and will continue to come.

In his report for the year 1922-23, Mr. Forbes wrote, "The need for a new building has become so pressing, owing to the increasing growth of the collection and use of the building by the students, that this year the staff of the Museum, headed by the Visiting Committee, are undertaking to raise the money with which to build and endow a new building." The Graduate School of Business Administration, the Department of Chemistry, and the Department of Fine Arts joined in a campaign to raise \$10,000,000 to carry on their work, \$2,000,000 of which was to be used for the building of a new art museum to replace the one so long outgrown, and to provide an endowment, the income of which was to be spent for the maintenance of the new building, for furthering original research, and for enlarging the activities of the Mu-

seum. Of the committee appointed to raise this money, Bishop Lawrence represented the Corporation, Dean Wallace C. Donham of the Business School was the head man, and Mr. Forbes, Professor Sachs, and Professor Pope represented the Museum. Due to the tremendous energy and hard work of the committee, the fund was completed within two years, plans for the new museum were made, and the contract was let. Four houses on Quincy Street were torn down to make way for the new Museum, which was designed by the architects, Coolidge, Shepley, Bulfinch, and Abbott. Meyric R. Rogers, a graduate of the Harvard School of Architecture, had made a special study of the Museum and acted as liaison officer between the architects and the officers of the Museum.

During the months when Professor Sachs spent practically every week-end in New York to raise money for the new Museum, I conducted his class in the history of engraving. He had assigned definite subjects to some of his students to present to the class. One of the artists chosen was Charles Meryon, an important French etcher of the nineteenth century. This was shortly after the Museum had received by bequest of Joseph Benson Marvin, Jr., nineteen superb etchings by Meryon which none of the students had seen. These prints were a most welcome acquisition, because up to that time Meryon was very inadequately represented at the Fogg. A special messenger had been sent to New York state to receive the prints, and he brought by hand that small package insured for many thousands of dollars. It was characteristic of Mr. Forbes that he saved that package for me to open to have the great pleasure and excitement of being the first to see those wonderful prints. When the student had finished his lecture, I told the class about our newly acquired treasures and added, "Now we have all the large Paris etchings except one, *La Pompe Notre Dame*, and I hope we may sometime have that to complete the series." A snicker went round the class. I was decidedly uncomfortable, for it was evident I had said something to cause the merriment. I learned later that one of the students owned that print. The members of the class knew it and I did not. Unwittingly, I had applied for his print, and soon afterwards he presented it to the Museum.

By the middle of September, 1926, the new building was so nearly completed that the moving in was begun, but work of the staff continued

in the old building. On June 20, 1927, the new Museum (this one we are in ¹) was dedicated. There was a ceremony which included an address by President Lowell, in which he referred to the directors, Mr. Forbes and Professor Sachs, as the "Heavenly Twins," the handing over of the golden keys by the architect, Mr. Charles A. Coolidge, prayer by Bishop Lawrence, a poem written for the occasion by Professor Charles H. Grandgent, and singing by the Harvard Glee Club. During the afternoon there was music by an 18th century ensemble. Fifteen hundred people visited the Museum on the opening day. A special loan exhibition had been arranged for the opening: illuminated manuscripts, paintings, drawings, tapestries, furniture, ivories, enamels, silver, etc. Special gifts were received, including money for special purposes.

Felix M. Warburg was the first subscriber to the new building and was always a very devoted friend and generous contributor. He served on the Visiting Committee from 1913 until his death October 20, 1937, with the exception of one year (1923-24), and with the exception of that year he was chairman from 1921 to 1931. It was most appropriate to change the name "Great Hall" to "Warburg Hall" in his honor.

With the opening of the new building, activities increased. The Department of Conservation was enlarged, and the examination and restoration of works of art was done for other departments of the University and for private collectors. Now there was a real Oriental Department under the curatorship of Langdon Warner, Harvard 1903, with adequate exhibition rooms and proper working quarters. It was at last possible, as never before, to display our works of art satisfactorily, in good light, and it was a surprise to us all to find how much we had, and how fine it was. At last we had necessary space in which to work, and all the work of the Department of Fine Arts could be carried on under one roof. The directors had proper offices, commodious and pleasant. There was a real library with adequate shelf-room for our books and room for expansion, and a librarian, Miss E. Louise Lucas, Radcliffe 1921, to preside over it. She has done splendid work in developing the library and enlarging its usefulness. There was wall space where our pictures could be hung in good light so that they could be seen. Works of art could be received from the level of the street, carried directly into

¹ This meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held in the new Fogg Art Museum on Quincy Street.

the building and unpacked, without the burden of carrying them up, then down, then up again. Every department had its own quarters and we became a real institution. As time went on, our staff increased from the five I knew first to ten times that number necessitated by the increase in the number of courses given, the number of students, and the greatly increased number of acquisitions. The work of every department was so engrossing that we knew less and less of what was going on elsewhere.

We had been a very happy family in the old building in spite of discomfort and inconvenience. We had worked together as one to further the usefulness of the Museum, and there was a feeling of homesickness on the part of some at leaving our old home for finer and more convenient quarters.

The Naumburg wing, built primarily to house the collection and rooms bequeathed to the Museum in 1930 by Mrs. Aaron Naumburg, was dedicated November 9, 1932. The Naumburg rooms furnish a charming setting for social functions, and the other parts of that wing have allowed expansion where it was greatly needed.

The interests of the Museum are not confined to the four walls of the building. Among its outside activities may be mentioned the expeditions under the leadership of Langdon Warner that made explorations in China and were rewarded by valuable finds which added interest and distinction to the Oriental Collection, already enriched by gifts of Dr. Denman W. Ross, Harvard 1875, and the bequest of Hervey E. Wetzell, Harvard 1911. The Harvard-Yenching Institute for Chinese Studies was established; at Kirkuk excavations were carried on by the Semitic Museum and the Fogg, together with the American School of Oriental Research, and Hetty Goldman, Ph.D., Radcliffe 1916, was excavator for the Fogg Museum in Greek lands. The Fogg Museum cooperated with the Museum of Fine Arts and the Germanic Museum in forming the Boston Chapter of the Museum of Modern Art.

The Museum, with its lecture rooms, large and small, offers a convenient and attractive meeting-place for various groups, other departments of the University, and different societies. The concerts given by the Stradivarius Quartet, the music played on instruments made by Stradivarius and bought by Felix Warburg for use of the Quartet, have filled the court and adjoining hallways to capacity. Other concerts were given there, also the play *Murder in the Cathedral* by T. S. Eliot.

Under the auspices of the Fogg Museum and the Fine Arts Department, a long list of distinguished scholars from abroad as well as from this country have delivered lectures which were open not only to members of the Fine Arts Department and the University, but also to the general public. Among them may be mentioned at random Arthur M. Hind,² Osvald Sirén,³ Gustav Pauli,⁴ Laurence Binyon,⁵ Chauncey Brewster Tinker,⁶ Eric R. D. Maclagan,⁷ Marcel Aubert,⁸ Allan Marquand,⁹ and Frank Jewett Mather.¹⁰

The directors, on their part, have delivered courses of lectures as visiting professors in other institutions at home and abroad, and have been in demand as speakers on many occasions. Members of the staff, also, have been called upon to speak on their specialties.

Loans have been made to other museums for special exhibitions, to other buildings in the University, and reproductions to students to hang in their rooms.

Important anniversaries have been featured. On November 16, 1927, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Charles Eliot Norton was celebrated, and gifts were made to the Museum in his memory and in memory of his son, Richard Norton, also in memory of his sister, Miss Grace Norton.

I had many funny experiences in my long years at the Fogg. Perhaps none amused me more than something which occurred in my early years there. One day Morris Hickey Morgan, professor of Greek and Latin, came in with a print about which he wished information, and he was referred to me. If I remember correctly, it was engraved in the Netherlands in the 17th century, a time when names of designer, engraver, and publisher often appeared on the plate. Pointing to a name followed by the abbreviation "ex," he said, "That is the engraver, isn't it?" As a sophomore at Radcliffe, I had taken a Greek course under him. Any

² Arthur Mayger Hind. Keeper of Prints and Drawings, British Museum; Slade Professor, Oxford.

³ Osvald Sirén. University of Stockholm. Art critic.

⁴ Gustav Pauli. Director of Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

⁵ Laurence Binyon. Lately Keeper of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.

⁶ Chauncey Brewster Tinker. Sterling Professor of English Literature, Yale University.

⁷ Eric R. D. Maclagan. Director and Secretary of Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁸ Marcel Aubert. Conservateur-Adjoint, Musée du Louvre, La Cathédrale de Chartres, les Sculpteurs et les Vitraux.

⁹ Allan Marquand. Professor of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

¹⁰ Frank Jewett Mather. Marquand Professor of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

who have had the experience of studying under him will remember him as a not particularly easy taskmaster. I had the supreme satisfaction of informing my former professor that "ex" was the abbreviation of the Latin word "excudit" and was used by the publisher of the plate, not the engraver, while the engraver used "sc." or "sculp." for "sculpsit," or "inc." for "incisit." I am sure he didn't recognize me as a former student of his and I hope my voice didn't betray my amusement and feeling of triumph.

I wish there were time to speak of the many young men and women, and some not so young, who have given of their best to further the work of the Museum, but I cannot omit Miss Mary Ward who came to us as a young girl and has proved invaluable to all who have had occasion to use the library. I am sure that in years to come, men and women, when they look back upon their student days and think of the Fogg, will remember her with gratitude and affection.

I retired July 1, 1939. As that day approached, my chief concern was who would carry on the work which had been so close to my heart for so many years. When I learned that my good friend Dr. Jakob Rosenberg was to be my successor, I was happy indeed. A distinguished scholar, a well-known expert in prints and drawings — no wiser choice could have been made and there was nobody I would have been so happy to see take over my responsibilities. I rejoice with him and feel proud of all the recognition that has come to him.

I had long planned to do some research and some writing and looked forward to the time when it would be possible. The war came, and work in Europe was out of the question, and there would not be years enough left after conditions were settled to carry out my plan. So I like to think that the sum total of all the little things I may have been able to do for the boys and girls over a long period of time may be worth more in the work of the world than the dry-as-dust books I might have written. As I have visited museums from coast to coast, and seen directors and curators of museums, and teachers of art, felt the warmth of their welcome, and heard their testimonies of appreciation, my heart has been warmed.

One of the most touching and gratifying tributes was from a former Radcliffe student. She had a difficult time in college and was discouraged. I have no idea what I did, though I do remember that, wholly unknown to her, I went over to Radcliffe to see if I could find out where her

trouble lay, but was not successful. After graduation, she went to her home in another state. Every time she came to Boston she came to the Museum to see me and I always received a greeting from her at Christmas. I heard, and I have completely forgotten how, that she had remarkable success in the work she was doing with children who were victims of polio, in bringing them back to health. The next time I saw her, which was incidentally the last, for she died some years ago, I congratulated her, and told her how proud I was of her. She said, "Any success I have I owe to you because it was you who taught me how to work."

CAMBRIDGEPORT, A BRIEF HISTORY

BY JOHN W. WOOD

Read April 27, 1954

Early Days

WHEN the subject of Cambridgeport history was first suggested I had, of course, various recollections of people and events connected with the area, but had no conception of the varied and fascinating angles which revealed themselves in a study of these events of a crowded century and a half of growth and development and of the extraordinary number of memorable people who lived here during that time. To crowd the story thus revealed into working proportions of a short paper has meant a difficult selection of material and the omission of many things that should be recalled.

First, let us examine our territory. Where is Cambridgeport? I have assumed it to be the area below Dana Street, bordered on the north by the Somerville line and on the south and east by the Charles River.

Some time ago Warren Raisley called my attention to a small book written by Mrs. S. S. Simpson, entitled *Two Hundred Years Ago, or a Brief History of Cambridgeport and East Cambridge*. This book came into his hands in an unusual way, which is a story in itself. It contains gossip comment on Cambridgeport people much as the author would have told or written it to her dearest friend. She comments on the Phipps family, which owned most of the eastern part of Cambridge. "In the year 1660, on the 30th of September, James Phipps left Bristol, England, and in due time arrived at Pemaquid with his wife and 26 children, twenty-one sons and five daughters, of which Sir William Phipps was one. We hear very little relating to Mr. James Phipps; probably his time was occupied in looking after his little family. If Sir William was a fair specimen he must have had enough to do."

Sir William gained considerable wealth by discovering in the West Indies a sunken Spanish treasure ship from which he recovered gold and

silver to the value of 300,000 pounds sterling. He married a Boston woman and began acquiring land in Cambridge until he had control of most of the eastern part of the town. After a time he quarreled with his friends and retired in high dudgeon to England, where he died. Most of his land was left to an adopted son, who was very prominent in our early history. Upon the latter's death the land was inherited by his several children.

After the Revolutionary War much of this land was expropriated from its Tory owners, who fled for sanctuary to English territory. Fortunately much of the land became the property of men of courage and vision, who began to consider its development.

In 1792 Judge Dana, and sundry associates, were incorporated as the Proprietors of West Boston Bridge with authority to build a toll bridge from the westerly part of Boston to Pelham's Island in the town of Cambridge. They asked for subscriptions to finance the project and these shares when issued were quickly taken up. The bridge was successfully completed and opened in 1793, together with a causeway through the marshes which extended to Pelham's Island, in La Fayette Square, where it joined the main road to Harvard Square.

At this time, and for some time thereafter, Cambridgeport consisted of this single road, with some buildings on each side of the road. This road, or Main Street, as it came to be called, was important to the development of the town. It extended beyond Cambridge to the north even to New Hampshire and Vermont, so that the products of the outlying country could be brought to the river for shipment by boat to the Atlantic sea-board. Lowell gives a picture of the road as he saw it: "Great white-topped wagons, each drawn by double files of six or eight horses, with its grim bull dog trotting underneath in the dust, brought the wares and products of the country to their mart and sea-port." Several large taverns were built to entertain the teamsters. These were large square buildings with vast barns and court yards. Apparently plenty of entertainment was furnished, and Cambridgeport was a lively place after nightfall.

Three large farms occupied most of the area, owned by the Sodens, the Inmans, and the Boardmans. Life on these farms must have had its attractions. There were oyster beds in the river, ducks in the marshes, and berries to be picked in the woodlands. There was a mystery, too.

Mike Martin is said to have buried treasure in the woods near what is now Prospect Street.

The natural result of the commerce along Main Street was a great development of the water front. Canals were dug to accommodate more wharfage, and as time went on piers were built capable of handling a considerable tonnage. Indeed, in 1805 an act was passed by Congress making Cambridge a port of entry. Engineers were employed to plan an elaborate system of canals to extend well up to Haymarket Square (now Central Square), but the war of 1812 intervened to upset the whole project and it was never again revived.

Another result was an increase in the development of the land in the area. It was largely in the hands of Judge Dana and Leonard Jarvis. These men built a somewhat elaborate dike and drainage system to make the marsh land available for building. Unfortunately however, Jarvis got into financial difficulties and his lands were forfeited to the government. After a period of years these lands were liquidated, cut up into a number of smaller parcels, and sold at auction. The new owners then became active in developing their land and building began, with the settlement clustering around the port end of the area.

The presence of the bridge brought about the building of through roads: Hampshire Street, which connected with the Middlesex Turnpike, and Harvard Street and Broadway, which served the convenience of the towns to the north in establishing access to the new bridge. Until as late as 1835 Cambridgeport was separated from Old Cambridge by an unoccupied belt of woodland. East of Judge Dana's house on the crest of the hill there was only the Inman House, near the present City Hall.

Thus isolated, the relations of the new settlement with the people of the older part of the town were interesting. While they were quite ready to profit from the enterprise of the Port, apparently many of the people of Old Cambridge would have been perfectly happy if Cambridgeport had never happened. Relations became more frigid when the Port became the site of the City Hall. Indeed, in 1842, a petition was presented to the Massachusetts Legislature praying that Cambridgeport and East Cambridge be set off as separate towns, with Old Cambridge retaining the original name. However, opposition to this move arose in all sections and the petitioners were given leave to withdraw. As years

went on and communication became easier, this feeling gradually faded away.

The Flowering of Cambridgeport

As a matter of fairness it should be said that Cambridgeport was not the sad orphan its low-lying marsh lands might suggest.

About 1820 James Russell Lowell and Oliver Wendell Holmes attended a school on Austin Street located between Temple and Prospect Streets. They both seemed impressed by the bleakness of the neighborhood through which they passed to get to school. But later Lowell wrote, "The greater part of what is now Cambridgeport was then, in the native dialect, a huckleberry pasture. Woods were not wanting on its outskirts. Its veins did not draw their blood from the old heart of the village, but it had a distinct being of its own."

Margaret Bell, in her biography of Margaret Fuller says of Cambridgeport: "It was a straggling village of no particular pretension, its cellars were often flooded by the tide-water which broke through the dikes. But its orchards bore fruit and its gardens bloomed; it had pleasantly wooded spaces which ran back as far as the buildings of Harvard College and it had its own meeting-house, and two schools, its music club for 'cultivating sacred music' and its little coteries of friendly citizens."

Dr. Holmes commented that Cambridgeport must have had its attractions because so many wonderful people lived there.

Some of these "wonderful people" were world famous. On Auburn Street, between Pearl and Magazine, lived Washington Allston. Strangely enough, he seems to have had no connection with Allston Street which bears his name. Born in the South, of a distinguished family, he gained his training in art in Italy, where he and S. F. B. Morse studied at the same time. His residence in Cambridge represented a hard struggle for recognition, with its ultimate triumph. During his lifetime he was easily the most admired of all American artists. His pictures were eagerly sought for and adorned many American homes. His greatest effort, "The Feast of Belshazzar," is now in the Boston Athenaeum.

Again, Margaret Fuller, an equally romantic figure, lived at the corner of Cherry and Eaton Streets not far from the present-day community center, the Margaret Fuller House. This woman was certainly endowed with genius. As a child she was precocious, and growing up

was difficult. With maturity, however, her natural gifts gained her recognition from the intellectuals of her time. She was an associate of the Brook Farm group, though never a member. Her writing and lectures gained for her nation-wide recognition as the outstanding woman of her time. Her marriage to Count Ossoli, and their tragic death at sea, added to the romance of her career.

Another and somewhat different Cambridgeport story is that of Alvan Clark and his family. Clark was an established portrait painter at the age of forty, when his attention was drawn in another direction by his son, who was carrying on his studies in astronomy at college. In order to build a telescope for his son, Clark read up on the art of lens grinding, and succeeded in producing a successful instrument. This led the elder Clark to establish the world-famous telescope business, where he produced the most powerful refracting telescopes of his time. The younger Clark had a distinguished career as an astronomer, and is credited with the discovery of the companion of Sirius. The Clarks lived in a large house on the corner of Magazine and Henry Streets, which was surrounded by ample grounds where a shop was built to carry on the lens business. At that time this neighborhood was one of the most attractive in the city. On ground sloping up from the river near Cottage Farm Bridge were three large estates, one owned by Edmund Reardon, who lived to be 105, one by the Eastmans, and the third by the Clarks. The Clark and the Eastman families were closely associated by marriage, and it was into this seemingly ideal situation that the famous Eastman-Grogan murder trial intruded. Now all traces of the three estates have disappeared with the encroachment of industrial buildings.

Another famous Cambridgeport character, who lived at the corner of Norfolk and Austin Streets, was Elias Howe, the inventor of the sewing machine. The story of his struggle to produce a workable machine, and later to obtain a patent, is a fascinating one, resulting in final triumph and financial independence, with Howe's machines finding their way into every corner of the globe.

Also in this same neighborhood was the birthplace of Richard Henry Dana, author of *Two Years before the Mast*. The Dana family name is prominent throughout the history of Cambridgeport. A large part of the land which made up the town was originally owned by Judge Dana, and it is a fair guess that the house on Clark Street where Richard Henry

was born may have been included among the original family buildings. It is unnecessary here to follow the annals of the famous Dana family.

An interesting anecdote which perhaps belongs here relates to the first successful telephone call. On October 9, 1876, Thomas A. Watson, who was an assistant to Alexander Graham Bell, was stationed in a building at the corner of Maine and Osborn Streets for the purpose of testing Bell's invention. Bell, of course, lived in Cambridge. It must have been a great thrill for both men when Bell called Watson from Boston and carried on a conversation with him — the first successful telephone call. Thomas Watson was a remarkable character. He not only had a successful career as an electrical engineer, but he branched out into the business of building war vessels for the government in 1896, and finally incorporated this business as the Fore River Ship and Engine Company of Quincy, which has since become one of the great shipbuilding companies of the country.

Nor was this the only contribution of Cambridgeport to the development of the telephone. General John Carty, famous telephone engineer, was born on Willow Street and educated at the Cambridge Latin School. He was to develop into a genius in the telephone field both from the scientific and the practical sides. Much of the early effort to make telephone use universal came as a result of his many inventions. He became chief engineer and vice-president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. General Carty was perhaps better known outside his native city than in it, as is attested by the many medals and honors conferred upon him. His title of General was awarded for his service to the army during the First World War.

Still another famous family in this great era of Cambridgeport was that of Otis Skinner. His father, the Reverend Charles A Skinner, was minister of the First Universalist Church on Inman Street, opposite the City Hall. This church, originally built near Lafayette Square, was moved to its present site when the land it occupied was required for other uses. The church has now been sold by the Universalists to the Syrian Orthodox Catholic Church. Otis Skinner was one of the great actors of the American stage, utterly without the usual temperamental eccentricities of some stage favorites. His public watched for his coming to town and attended his plays time after time whenever he appeared. His daughter, Cornelia Otis Skinner, is still one of the ornaments of our theatre.

Great Causes

In the 70's and 80's the people of Cambridgeport were interested in many causes, among them temperance, coeducation, and the securing of a hospital for Cambridge.

It is hard to realize now how earnest temperance people were in driving the saloon out of Cambridge. They put into their effort all the fervor of a religious crusade. The pages of the *Cambridge Chronicle* were filled with stories of the dire effects of alcohol, physical and moral. Spirited campaigns were carried on at election time to induce everyone to vote "No." At the head of these temperance campaigns were two picturesque figures, the Reverend Father Scully of St. Mary's Church, and the Reverend David N. Beach of the Prospect Congregational Church. Both men were eloquent speakers and attractive figures, and under their leadership Cambridge went for "no license" year after year. This whole question has now faded into obscurity, and with it the opportunity to take part in a burning community cause.

In writing of the results of these campaigns, Dr. Beach relates several benefits which came to the City. He says: "In the second place, previously existing lines of division have been wiped out. Catholics have come to love Protestants, and Protestants to love Catholics." On his part, Father Scully went even further when he said: "The saloon seems to have been among us to keep us by the ears one against another. We Catholics did not like you Proestants and you Protestants did not like us Catholics. But now that the saloon is gone, we love one another, and are nobly helpful one toward another."

It seems almost unbelievable that as recently as 1867 there was no organized hospital in Cambridge. In 1867, Miss Emily E. Parsons, who had been an army nurse for two years during the Civil War, tried to interest her friends in correcting this situation. By the most persistent efforts she was able to start a small hospital for women and children, but at the end of a year she had to give up for lack of funds. However, her efforts were not wasted, as interest in the hospital project for which she had worked did not die. Indeed, in 1871 the Cambridge Hospital was incorporated by a group of men, including Isaac Livermore, Sumner R.

Mason, W. W. Wellington, Benjamin Tilton, the Reverend Alexander McKenzie, and Dr. Henry P. Walcott.

Judge Walcott has called my attention to the fact that of this group, only Dr. McKenzie and Dr. Walcott lived west of Harvard Square. Later, when the hospital was opened, the first Board of Trustees bears the names of prominent Cambridgeport people — Robert O. Fuller, Asa P. Morse, Charles L. Harding, and William A. Bullard.

The hospital continued for only one year. It was quite evident that more money would have to be raised.

In 1873 Isaac Fay left \$10,000 for the hospital, and this was invested as a nest egg. There was no possibility at that time of a rich Federal Government's furnishing abundant funds, as would be expected today. It was necessary to secure funds from the public. The Cambridge Hospital Sales of those days were an interesting result of these efforts. These sales were not only amazingly successful financially, but were equally successful social events. By 1886 sufficient funds had been gathered so that it was possible to build a well-planned substantial brick building on the historic site near Mt. Auburn. It is interesting to note that the location of the hospital had the most careful consideration. A location on the shores of Fresh Pond and also on Captain's Island in the Charles River were studied, but for various reasons were rejected. It is clear now that no better location could have been found. From that day the hospital has gone forward under the careful fostering of its friends until today it is a completely coordinated modern institution serving a large number of patients.

I am interested in the men from Cambridgeport who were members of the first hospital board, as they are typical of the solid, successful, public-spirited men who developed and were developed by Cambridgeport.

The first of these men, Robert O. Fuller, was born in Cambridge. He was poor and at fourteen he went to work at a salary of \$50.00 a year. Each morning he walked across the West Boston Bridge to get to his job in Boston, having to pay a one cent toll for the privilege. By intense application he became a partner in the firm of Fuller, Dana and Fitz, iron and steel merchants. He purchased the large brown-stone house situated next to the Prospect Street Church, with land extending along

Harvard Street to Inman Street. He was active in the First Baptist Church and in many civic activities. He was elected to the Governor's Council from his district and served with distinction during the terms of Governors Ames and Bracket.

Asa P. Morse, second cousin of Daniel Webster, made a great success in the importing business, was interested in building and real estate, and held many public offices.

Dr. W. W. Wellington is said to have been a member of the Cambridge School Committee for forty years — an all-time record.

Joseph A. Holmes, as a boy of seventeen went to work in the West Indies Goods & Country Produce Store on Main Street, and soon became a partner. This was distinctly a large enterprise of its kind. His public career began in 1846 with his election to the Common Council. In due course he moved on to the Board of Aldermen, having in the mean time acted as City Treasurer. He was for years a deacon of the First Baptist Society. He was also elected President of the Cambridgeport Savings Bank. An eminently useful citizen.

Of course, no story of the Cambridge Hospital could be complete without mention of the great contributions of Dr. Morrill Wyman and Dr. Henry P. Walcott. Dr. Walcott was chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Health. There is an interesting collection of Dr. Wyman's papers in the Cambridge Public Library.

Modern Times

A great change in Cambridgeport came with the opening of the subway in 1895 and the building of the Charles River dam. The effect of the subway was, of course, to bring about a great increase in population, accompanied by the migration of the old families to the northern part of the city and to Belmont and Arlington. Houses were tucked into backyards and wherever else space could be found. From a town of spacious homes, Cambridgeport became an overcrowded city with all of the complex problems that accompany such growth.

The building of the sea wall along the river, and the building of the Charles River Dam transformed the river basin into an attractive body of fresh water. The mud flats which had been a great nuisance were now

covered at all times and it was possible to beautify the whole river front. Of course, at this time Cambridgeport ceased to be a port of entry. A large tract of land was reclaimed by filling back of the sea wall, and this land was eminently suited for residence or industrial purposes. The most important result of the development, perhaps, was the decision of the Institute of Technology to locate on these reclaimed lands. The coming of Tech, however, came too late to affect social conditions in Cambridgeport residential areas. The whole area was already densely populated and had lost its appeal as a possible college community. But in another sense the location of Tech in Cambridge was of the utmost importance.

With the scientific and technological knowledge available at Harvard and Technology, the river front between these two colleges was ideally situated for the new type of industrial enterprise founded on research, and the application of new discoveries. So that now the former mud flats and salt marshes have been supplanted by the fabulous "research row."

This rapid review of an epoch of local history is in its essence a typical example of the American way of life — the taming of a difficult wilderness area by sturdy, far-seeing men whose efforts transformed their surroundings and who made their contribution to the strength of the nation. It has seemed wise to base our story largely on the lives and characters of the men and women of Cambridgeport, but there are many interesting stories left untold for future Historical Society papers.

In conclusion, you will notice many omissions in these pages. Such characters as William F. Bradbury — Old Brad — William J. Rolfe, Captain James P. Richardson, who organized the first company to enlist in the Civil War, prominent merchants like John H. Corcoran, Dana W. Hyde, James A. Holmes, and countless others should surely have been mentioned. But time and space did not permit. I sincerely hope that someone will be interested to pick up some of these interesting threads in the future.

A letter from Judge Robert Walcott, received some time after this paper was written, throws an interesting sidelight on early times in Cambridgeport:

John W. Wood, Esq.,
43 Linnaean Street,
Cambridge, Mass.

May 14, 1954

My dear John:

I think you spoke of the fact that a large part of the area of Cambridgeport back of the oyster beds was covered with woods. Here is contemporary evidence which may amuse you, from the diary of Rev. William Emerson of Concord, grandfather of Ralph Waldo Emerson, which appears in the contribution to the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October 1921, entitled, "A Chaplain of the Revolution," by Dr. Edward W. Emerson.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT WALCOTT

"Last Saturday, visited ye camp, or rather wigwams of ye Indians who are under ye care and Government of Colonel Patterson, who informed me to my great satisfaction yt yy were wholly under his control. They are permitted to live by themselves in a very thick wood that belongs to Inman's Farm. . . . They have some of them bro't their squaws and papooses with them. I had the pleasure of sitting down with 'em at a fine mess of clams, cooked and eat in ye true genuine Indian taste. I wish you had been there to see how generously they put their fingers into ye dish and pic't out some of ye largest clams to give me, and with what a fine Gust I eat them."

PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CAMBRIDGE HIGH AND LATIN SCHOOL

BY CECIL THAYER DERRY

Read June 8, 1954

THE two men most competent to write such a paper as this, Mr. Harold C. Durrell and Mr. Leslie L. Cleveland, are unfortunately no longer with us. Mr. Durrell, who graduated from the Cambridge Latin School in 1901, amassed a great quantity of memorabilia about the school and its alumni, including an almost complete file of the school magazine, and he also did a great deal to foster such school activities as debating and hockey. I fear that at his death in 1943 his collection of material was dispersed or destroyed.

When Mr. Cleveland was about to retire in 1941 from the headmastership of the school, I urged him to write a history of our school, and I renewed the request several times after he retired. So far as I know, he did not even begin to write such a work, and now he has left us. So the task of writing this paper has fallen into less competent hands, but it is a task which the Cambridge Historical Society does well to commission someone to undertake.

When we delve into the beginnings of secondary education in Cambridge, we immediately encounter the name of Elijah Corlett, teacher of the college preparatory school which was housed in a building on the west side of what is now Holyoke Street. Though we cannot be sure in what year he began to teach, he was well and widely known by the year 1643. In *New England's First Fruits* we read of him as the teacher of "a fair Grammar Schoole [in the old sense of Latin grammar School] for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting of them for Academicall Learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge." Of Corlett the writer says that "he has very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfullnesse in teaching and education of the youth under him." Master Corlett appears to have con-

tinued his teaching career for more than forty years, until his death in February, 1686-87, at the age of 78. Cotton Mather wrote of him:

'Tis Corlett's pains, and Cheever's, we must own,
That thou, New England, art not Scythia grown.

Elsewhere, in his *Magnalia*, Mather described Corlett as "Mr. Elijah Corlet, that memorable old schoolmaster in Cambridge, from whose education our college and country have received so many of its worthy men, that he is himself worthy to have his name celebrated in . . . our church history."

If we compare this school with other contemporary schools, such as the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, we discover several similarities, but also two particulars in which our school was unique.

(1) Like other secondary schools, this was a college preparatory school. Not until the rise of academies about 1750 and of the Boston English High School in 1821 was full provision made for secondary schooling for pupils not aiming at college. Perhaps Professor Samuel Eliot Morison is right in calling Corlett's school the first Cambridge Latin School.

(2) It was a private school, supported by the fees which the parents paid. This proved, however, to be so meager a financial support that the town, proud of its school and its teacher, found it sometimes necessary to supplement his small income. In 1648 it was voted in town meeting "that there should be land sold of the common, for the gratifying of Mr. Corlett for his pains in keeping a school in the town, the sum of ten pounds, if it can be attained; provided it shall not prejudice the common." Half a dozen years later there was a levy of twenty pounds for Master Corlett, "for his present encouragement to continue with us." Again in 1662 there was paid to him out of the public stock of the town the sum of ten pounds, "especially considering his present necessity by reason of the fewness of his scholars." In 1659 he even appealed to the colony for relief, and was granted 200 acres of land, presumably that he might profit by selling this real estate. Once more, in 1668, the colony granted him land, 500 acres this time, "where he can find it, according to law." His expression of humble thankfulness to the magistrates for these benefactions and his prayer for God's blessing on them are still extant. The insufficient recompense of the capable teacher, which

creates critical situations in this year 1954, was already a serious problem in the seventeenth century.

(3) The enrolment in the secondary schools of that time was surprisingly small. In 1680 the town reported to the County Court that Master Corlett had only nine pupils. Doubtless the number fluctuated from year to year.

In two respects our school in Cambridge was unusual. In 1659, in addition to the English pupils (all boys, of course), Master Corlett was teaching five Indian youths in "the lattin Schoole," and in the course of some years he seems to have had a dozen Indian lads. When the "Commissioners of the United Colonies" and the president of the college made a visit of inspection, they reported that these Indian boys gave evidence of diligence, proficiency in Latin, and good manners. It was hoped, of course, that these Indian pupils would attend the Indian College at Harvard and would thereafter strive to convert the indigenous population to Christianity. Unhappily, only one of these Indian pupils, Caleb Cheeshah-teaumuck from Martha's Vineyard, actually attained a Harvard degree. That was in 1665, and in 1666 he died of tuberculosis. Another member of the same class, Joel Iacoomes, also from Martha's Vineyard, was murdered on Nantucket shortly before commencement.

The other point of uniqueness in Cambridge was that Corlett taught for more than forty years. The typical teacher of those days, in Cambridge and elsewhere, was on his way to a life in the ministry or in law or less often in medicine, and his teaching for one or two or at most three years was simply a means of earning money for his further education. Rare indeed was the man who spent a lifetime in teaching. Corlett may be called one of the earliest of professional teachers in the secondary field.

Of the period which followed Corlett we need speak only briefly, for we may suppose that for many decades the pattern already described was followed, in the main. Yet, since Dr. Lucius R. Paige in his *History of Cambridge* tells us that between 1643 and 1783 there were only nineteen grammar masters, some of these young men, mostly recent graduates of Harvard, must have given several years to teaching. In fact, we hear that Nicholas Fessenden, Jr., Harvard 1701, taught for eighteen years, and died of apoplexy while still in service. His nephew, William Fessenden, Jr., Harvard 1737, taught the school for eleven years. Another teacher, Samuel Danforth, after eleven years in the school, was for many

years Judge of Probate, Judge of Common Pleas, and member of the Council. But most teachers still adopted the teaching profession only as a temporary expedient.

After an occasional gift from the town to supplement the teacher's insufficient income from fees, the town eventually assumed some responsibility for a regular stipend. In 1691 it was voted to pay the master twelve pounds annually, and in 1692 the sum was increased to twenty pounds. The curriculum became more extensive, for the incumbent was now expected to teach Latin, English, writing and "cyphering."

When in 1737 the school became free, and tuition fees came to an end, the salary went up to forty pounds a year. Though there were no more tuition fees, every schoolboy was taxed not more than six shillings for the purchase of wood for the school. The salary seems to have been unchanged for forty years; and when it was advanced to sixty pounds in 1777, it was stipulated that the teacher should no longer receive any money from the Hopkins Fund. During the Revolutionary War all financial values were naturally much disturbed.

In 1744 the town appointed a committee to inspect the grammar school and to inquire about the proficiency of the pupils. In 1770 a committee of nine, including such notable men as Judge Sewall, Major Vassall, and Mr. Professor Winthrop, was empowered to choose a grammar master and to inspect and regulate the school. Generally, however, the selectmen had charge of the schools until 1795, when a committee of seven was elected to superintend the schools of the town. When the town was divided into five school districts, it was ordered, in 1802, that in District 1, Old Cambridge, there should be a grammar school the whole year. But when a new system was introduced in 1834, with three wards, instead of five districts, each of the three wards was to have a grammar school. Since we hear in 1838 of a high school for the whole town, we suspect that the term "grammar school" was undergoing some modification of its meaning. From 1713 until 1838 that part of the legacy of Edward Hopkins which had been assigned to Cambridge seems to have been used in support of the original Grammar School. But now, in 1838, when the great growth of the population of Cambridgeport and East Cambridge caused the new Classical or High School to be established at the corner of Winsor Street and Broadway, President Josiah Quincy of Harvard petitioned the legislature for permission to

withdraw the income of the Hopkins Fund from the public school and to use the money to establish a private school, the Hopkins Classical School, in which, however, nine Cambridge pupils should always be entitled to free instruction. There was so much dissatisfaction with the location of the new high school that for a time classical teaching was given not only in the high school, but also in two grade schools, as we should call them.

Not long after Cambridge received in 1846 its charter as a city, secondary education in the city was reorganized, and the Cambridge High School is reckoned as dating from October, 1847, even though secondary instruction in Cambridge had actually begun fully two centuries earlier. Already the newly constituted city council had decided on a new school building at the corner of Amory and Summer Streets in Cambridgeport, with first floor rooms for lower grades, and with high school accommodations above. Though the school committee thought that sixty seats would be sufficient for the high school, the council generously provided 108 seats. Local asperities about the site for the school persisted to such an extent that council members from Old Cambridge said to those from East Cambridge and Cambridgeport: "Place your high school house where you please; we shall make no use of it." When the school opened in October, 1847, the only pupil from Old Cambridge was the Mayor's daughter. The others were all from Wards II and III. Even so, more than 108 boys and girls appeared. When the unpleasantness eventually died away, many persons asserted that it was the high school which produced harmony among the three wards.

Mr. Elbridge Smith was master of the School, and he had one assistant, Miss N. W. Manning, who resigned one year later and became Mrs. H. O. Houghton. The dedication of the building on Amory Street did not take place until June, 1848, at which time the principal address was delivered by Edward Everett, President of Harvard College. In that year a sub-master was appointed, Thomas Chase, an excellent scholar, who later became President of Haverford College. The city council gave to the school in 1850 books to the value of \$800, and according to a law then in force this was augmented from the state treasury. Further, the proceeds of four lectures delivered at City Hall by Professor Louis Agassiz also went to the increasing of this school library. Professor Agassiz generously gave to the pupils of the school without compensation

a series of lectures for a whole year. His son, Alexander, who was to become both a great scientist and a copper magnate, graduated from the school in 1851.

The proceeds of the Hopkins Fund, which had for some years supported a private school, came back to our school in 1854. For some decades thereafter one teacher always bore the title of Hopkins Classical Teacher, but this practice has long been abandoned.

Professor Cornelius C. Felton of Harvard, when he was a member of the school committee, caused the formal study of English literature to be introduced, to replace the earlier use of mere extracts from the authors. It is believed that this innovation in Cambridge was the beginning of the earnest study of English literature in American schools.

When Elbridge Smith resigned in 1856, there were two hundred pupils and six teachers, three men and three women. In that year began the long association of William F. Bradbury with our school. He had just graduated from Amherst College at the head of his class, and he became our submaster, and teacher of physics and mathematics. When the new master, Osgood Johnson, died in 1857 at the age of twenty-six, Mr. Bradbury was in charge for the rest of the term.

Lyman R. Williston, another Amherst man, was headmaster from 1857 to 1862, and again from 1870 to 1881. William J. Rolfe, well known for his editing of Shakespeare, was head of the school from 1862 until 1868. Mr. Bradbury, temporary head for four months in 1857, again from 1868 until 1870, and for a third time in 1878-79, had been Hopkins Classical Teacher since 1865. It was not strange that, immediately after the retirement of Mr. Williston in 1881, Mr. Bradbury was appointed headmaster. Since 1864 the school had occupied a larger building at the corner of Broadway and Fayette Street, where now the Longfellow School stands. By 1876 there were four hundred pupils and twelve teachers.

In 1886 came a very important change. The school was divided into two institutions, the Cambridge English High School and the Cambridge Latin School, the latter being intended primarily as a college preparatory school. The English High School continued at the corner of Broadway and Fayette Street, and the Latin School took possession of a reconditioned church on Lee Street. Though Mr. Bradbury for a time directed both schools, Mr. Frank A. Hill soon came to be head-

master of the English High School. His regime was short, and before long he became Secretary of the State Board of Education of our Commonwealth. Then came the long and fruitful term of Mr. Ray Greene Huling, who was called from New Bedford to guide for some fifteen years the fortunes of the English High School. Mr. Huling was an honor graduate of Brown University, an experienced educational administrator, and active in educational organizations. His years in Cambridge were the most flourishing period of the English High School. Unfortunately, after long and valiant struggle to carry on his work under conditions of deepening ill health, he was forced to relinquish the task.

Shortly before the arrival of Mr. Huling, the pupils of the English High School had marched from Fayette Street up Broadway to the stately new building which awaited them between Trowbridge and Ellery Streets, facing Broadway. This removal left the building at the corner of Broadway and Fayette Street free for the Latin School. As the membership grew, however, a colony had to be sent at times to the old church on Lee Street. Eventually the Latin School also acquired, in the spring of 1899, a fine new home on Trowbridge Street, close to the English High School. With only a few more than five hundred pupils then, the school looked very spacious, and Mr. William A. Munroe of the school committee was criticised by some because he had caused the corridors to be rather wide. That width has proved to be a real boon as the number of pupils has increased and as both sides of the corridors have been lined with lockers.

The Cambridge Latin School won fame as one of the best preparatory schools in the country. In fact, President Eliot once said that it was the best fitting school for Harvard. Mr. Bradbury was in some respects an old-fashioned schoolmaster, and no one doubted that he was the *master* of the Cambridge Latin School. It was still possible for him personally to select new teachers, subject to the approval of the school committee, and in other respects he controlled the situation. A versatile teacher, he enjoyed visiting classes and often took over the teaching for a few minutes. Some of us can remember stumbling over a synopsis of the Greek verb *baino* in the second aorist and hearing him burst out: "*Eben, bo, baien, bethi, benai, bas*. Why don't you say it?" He sometimes reduced a timid pupil to tears, and some decried his insistence on exact knowledge. He did demand honest and steady work, and the hymn which he most often

chose for singing at the daily morning assembly was "Work, for the night is coming." It is reported that when the late Miss Blanche McIntire recited one day in the Greek class of Professor Benjamin Ide Wheeler at Cornell University, Professor Wheeler said: "I know where you must have been prepared for college. You went, I am sure, to the Cambridge Latin School and were taught by William F. Bradbury." And it was so.

Mr. Bradbury was active for years in the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. He was known for a series of textbooks in mathematics which he wrote, sometimes with collaborators. His discipline was firm and sometimes severe, and actual expulsion of a recalcitrant or lazy or incompetent pupil was not unknown. One father is said to have brought his son to Mr. Bradbury with the statement: "My boy is a peculiar child and has to be treated just so." To which Mr. Bradbury is said to have replied: "I am a peculiar man. I have to be treated just so." To one of his reprimands to a boy prominent in the school the boy was heard to reply: "I know, Mr. Bradbury, that an exalted ego has always been my trouble." And those who knew the boy recognized the truth of the self-diagnosis. Mr. Bradbury was a teller of truth and did not shrink from telling unpalatable truth: and he was an inspirer of truth-telling in others. He rejoiced in the excellent records of his pupils in college entrance examinations and in college courses, and he had little liking for anything which distracted students from their academic work. Probably this was the reason for his lack of enthusiasm for athletics. Sports did flourish to a certain extent, but that was not because of any ardor of the headmaster. His chief care about athletics was to see to it that no boy failing in his studies should have a chance to play on a team.

Though there were a few who disliked Mr. Bradbury, most pupils and parents had great respect for his work as the effective head of a successful school. The teachers became profoundly loyal to him, and they knew that he would loyally support them in any controversy. At the end of a half-century in the school, he was honored at a great meeting in the hall of the Latin School at the beginning of 1907, and a portrait of him was presented to the school. Mayor Thurston and others spoke words of high praise, and LeBaron Russell Briggs, Dean of Harvard College, of the Class of 1871 of the Cambridge High School, who in his high official post had observed through many years the students who had come from Mr. Bradbury's training, said at that meeting that he and many others had

learned from Mr. Bradbury to put heart and soul into one's daily work. Another remark of Dean Briggs on that occasion reminds us that the common nickname of Mr. Bradbury among the boys and girls was "Brad" or "Old Brad." Said Dean Briggs: "I hardly know William Frothingham Bradbury. When I was in the high school, there was no Frothingham, there was rarely any William, and sometimes there was not even the whole of Bradbury."

When Mr. Bradbury retired at the end of January, 1910, he was still in his usual vigorous health; but he was eighty years old, and he had been continuously connected with the school for fifty-four years and some months. When he came back a few months later from a visit to his sister and her husband in Washington, and was asked whether he had enjoyed himself there, his answer was revealing. "Yes, I had a fine time," said he; "my sister and her husband are old people and go to bed early. So I had three good hours of work every night after they had gone to bed." Probably the work on which he was occupied was his history of the Handel and Haydn Society, of which he was for a great many years a member, then Secretary, and finally President. He had a strong and melodious voice, and he loved music. He fostered a school orchestra.

The saying that "an institution is the lengthened shadow of a man" is admirably illustrated in the history of the Cambridge Latin School. Throughout the twenty-four years of its existence William F. Bradbury was its indefatigable and dominating head.

After Mr. Huling had retired from the English High School and Mr. Bradbury from the Latin School, the school committee carried out its purpose of recombining the two schools under one head. Protests from the alumni of both schools were unavailing. The name proposed was the Cambridge High School, but graduates of the Latin School demanded that the name of Latin School should not perish. So the name of the Cambridge High and Latin School was adopted and still remains.

The responsibility of succeeding two outstanding men, Mr. Bradbury and Mr. Huling, and of making the extensive reorganization required fell upon Mr. Leslie L. Cleveland, who was summoned from the headmastership of the Quincy High School. He was just under forty, and in the seventeen years since his graduation from Williams as an honor student and an athlete he had had wide experience in teaching and administration in both private and public schools.

It is apt to be characteristic of a successful institution that it chooses a capable head and then retains him in his post long enough to allow him to develop vigorous and long-range policies. Many institutions fail of their finest possibilities through too rapid changes of administration. Our school, like our neighbor, the Rindge School under its able and beloved headmaster, Mr. John W. Wood, has had the benefit of longevity of regimes. The two men whose portraits hang in the assembly hall of the Latin School building, Mr. Bradbury and Mr. Cleveland, represent in their successive eras in the school a period of no less than eighty-five years. Mr. Cleveland was the headmaster of the Cambridge High and Latin School from February, 1910, until his retirement at the age of seventy in June, 1941.

A noticeable trend in the educational history of our country is the great increase in high school attendance in the first half of the twentieth century. Cambridge shared in this tendency. Early in Mr. Cleveland's time the two buildings became so crowded that a sort of addition, known as the Annex, was constructed to connect the two adjacent buildings and to supply extra classrooms. As the architecture and even the floor levels were different, this was an unsatisfactory makeshift. For some years there was a further makeshift, the sending of a colony to the old Harvard School at Inman Street and Broadway, so far from headquarters that administrative difficulties were frequent. Radical improvement was long in coming. In the meantime, various conditions led to abnormally large enrollments. For instance, in the early years of the great depression many young people, unable to find jobs, came back for a postgraduate year. At one time we had more than two hundred postgraduates. It was a good way for them to spend their time, but it did create problems for the headmaster. After the Second World War we had a considerable influx of young veterans who wished to complete their high school education. Now they were men, coming back from a man's world and the maturing experiences of war, and naturally impatient at having to subject themselves to regulations which were fitting for children in their early teens, such as the prohibition of smoking in and near the school. Fortunately, the ingenuity and tact of the headmasters and their associates did much to ease such tensions.

When more space became imperatively necessary, the English High School building, erected in 1892, was demolished in 1939, to make way

for a larger structure to function in connection with the Latin School building. Those who taught through the years when pneumatic drills and other highly efficient noise-producers of our industrial era were constantly at work still wonder how they were able to make themselves heard through the raucous din, and even how they were able to survive the long-continued assaults on their ear-drums and their nerves. To make opportunity for teaching the pupils displaced from the old building it was necessary for a year or more to have a morning session for one set of pupils, and an afternoon session for the rest. It was a great pleasure for us all that Mr. Cleveland was able to preside over the new and enlarged school for a whole year before he retired. It was a further happiness, and a well-deserved honor for him, that the new auditorium was named the Leslie L. Cleveland Auditorium.

Mr. Cleveland was interested in all the phases of a modern high school. Without making sudden or radical changes, he gradually introduced many of the tested newer results of educational thinking. He strove always to maintain the high standards which the school had habitually cherished. He sought, too, to do the best that could be done for the individual student. At his retirement there was a great outpouring of appreciation and affection for him.

The entrance of the United States into the First World War while Mr. Cleveland was in office brought new problems and opportunities. It was not the first time that members of the school family fought in their country's cause. In the transept of Memorial Hall at Harvard we read the name of John Henry Tucker of the Class of 1858 of the Cambridge High School, and of the Harvard Class of 1862. He enlisted soon after his graduation from college, and was killed in battle at Port Hudson, Louisiana, in May, 1863. A year later his body was disinterred from its southern resting place and brought to Cambridge for a double funeral for him and an older brother, who had also lost his life in the Civil War.

Some of our faculty and many of our graduates and even a few undergraduates were in World War I. Timothy F. Downey, then a teacher, and much later headmaster, was an officer in chemical warfare. John J. Sheehan, then a very young man, but now headmaster, served for many months in France in that war, and two of his sons were in World War II. A few of our graduates even served in both World War I and World War II.

At home the stress of the war in 1917 and 1918 elicited energetic efforts in the school to support in every possible way the national cause. Mr. Cleveland and many others cheered our boys with numerous letters, and our Junior Red Cross unit prepared innumerable remembrances and comforts for our boys overseas and in camps.

World War II called into the armed services a much larger number of our faculty, alumni, and undergraduates, including a number of our young women. Miss Alice Ward, one of our teachers, was the efficient head of our very active and useful Junior Red Cross. Mr. Downey endeavored through many letters and in every possible way to assure our friends in service of the continuing interest of the school in them. One of our graduates became one of the youngest majors in the army. Another was the hero of an epic flight of more than 30,000 miles to save a huge airplane from capture by the enemy. There were the inevitable casualties, and more than forty of our young men lost their lives in this war. One family lost two sons who had graduated from our school. The navy named a small ship for Robert Payne, killed in the Solomon Islands.

The school has three war memorials. To remind us of the meaning of World War I, Mr. Cyrus E. Dallin was commissioned to create a bronze statue. This small bronze, representing a Crusader on horseback, stands near the headmaster's office. In the main office hangs a portrait of Lieutenant Charles Conlan, a graduate of the school who had begun to teach there before the military service in World War II, which proved fatal for him. The third memorial recalls to mind Victor F. Blakeslee, 1916, a wonderful boy, handsome, friendly, merry, popular not only for his varied athletic prowess, but also for his noble nature. It did not surprise us that he went to Annapolis, that he rose to be a Captain in the navy, and that his record was distinguished. He married a Russian noblewoman of striking personality. After he had retired from the navy, he went again into service when World War II broke out, and was in command of an important station at Exeter, England. He died not long after the war. At our Memorial Day exercises in 1948, perhaps the most memorable such observance in the history of the school, his widow made a deeply moving address about him and his war experiences, and presented to the school a large portrait of her late husband, also his swords, his Legion of Merit citations, his medals, and other memorabilia. These are now on display, a permanent inspiration.

Mr. Cleveland was followed in the headmastership by Mr. Timothy F. Downey, who was in charge from the autumn of 1941 until his untimely and lamented death in January, 1952. I think he was the only Harvard graduate to become head of our school. He had had long experience with us, as teacher of chemistry, as head of the science department, and for years as master in charge of freshman boys. He believed strongly in the value of discipline, and he was determined to hold high the academic standards of the school. Though his major interests were in science and in the general field of education, he cherished a deep love for the classical authors in Latin, Greek, and English, and quoted freely from them. Such writing as he did for various occasions was marked by the richness of a cultivated mind.

For a year after Mr. Downey died the school was administered by Mr. Thomas L. Bramhall, who had come to us in the fall of 1910 to be submaster, and who in all the years since then, and even until the present day, has been a tower of strength in the affairs of the school.

In January, 1953, Mr. John J. Sheehan became headmaster. He is the only alumnus of the school to reach that post. He had been with us for many years in teaching and in administrative responsibilities, and his five children had all graduated from the school. He knows the fine traditions of our past and is trying to keep the school true to them.

Many topics must be passed over in silence or with inadequate reference. The curriculum has been greatly expanded. There are four major programs of study, the college preparatory, the commercial, the general, and practical arts. Some subjects which are barely mentioned here, though they deserve extended treatment, are the Parents' Association, the Hopkins Classical Library, our chapter of the National Honor Society, physical education, the school nurse, the psychologist, instruction in home nursing and in first aid, a lip-reading class, remedial reading, visual and auditory education, classes for the driving of automobiles, educational guidance, placement, home teaching of ill and incapacitated children, oral English, a series of admirable dramatic presentations during many years under the direction of the talented and indispensable Miss Lillian Hartigan, work in art, in music (with chorus, orchestra, band), occupational conferences, the organization of instruction in ten departments, the enlarged administrative and secretarial staff, our numerous clubs, such as the Girls' Athletic Association, the K.B. social club for girls, the Durrell

Debating Club, the Junior Red Cross, clubs concerned with chess, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Latin, art, music appreciation, literature, a projection club, and at one time even a philosophy club.

There is no attempt to deal here with statistics, financial or other. Athletics would surprise Mr. Bradbury by the wide range of sports now cultivated. Among the new ones are golf and horseback riding. Yet we have no crew now, though rowing played an important role some decades ago. Our school magazine, *The Cambridge Review*, founded in 1886, has won many awards in competition with publications of many schools. The seniors put much intelligent effort into the production of their year-book. Truly a modern high school is far more complicated than the first Cambridge Latin School of 1643, or even than the comparatively simple school of 1900.

The number of prizes and scholarships for talented pupils who have worked effectively increases constantly. On the annual Prize Day recognition is given to outstanding scholars. No longer do those graduates who go to college confine their outlook to Harvard, Radcliffe, and M.I.T. Our boys and girls have gone to more than thirty colleges scattered all over the country, from Maine to California; and one or two academic individualists have even insisted on going to Yale University.

When our school celebrated in 1947 the hundredth anniversary of its beginning, and at the same time held the 1947 graduation, the Harvard authorities graciously permitted us to use their own commencement theater between the Widener Library and the Memorial Church. At that time there were two distinguished speakers, Bishop Norman B. Nash of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, of the Class of 1905, and Senator Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming, who attended our school, but not long enough to graduate. The school graduations have been held in a variety of places, such as the hall of the Latin School, Sanders Theatre, Tremont Temple, and the Cleveland Auditorium. In recent years, however, the lawn in front of the Cambridge Public Library has served the purpose well.

It would be wrong to close this paper without referring to a few of the outstanding teachers who have built the school and to a few of the outstanding graduates who have glorified it by their achievements.

Among the teachers Mr. Theodore P. Adams, notable as a Latin teacher from 1869 until 1906, will also be remembered for having lived

to the age of 103. For a considerable period he was the oldest living graduate of Harvard. Not only headmasters, but also many teachers worked in our school for several decades. Miss Emma A. Scudder was one of these, and she made an impression on me by her curious principle of marking. She would never give a pupil 100% on an examination, for that, she thought, would imply that he knew all there was to know about the subject. Miss Caroline Close, the first Head of the English Department when the departmental organization began, was so beloved and effective a teacher that the Caroline Close Prize Essays are still a path to high esteem. Miss Jennie S. Spring, brilliant graduate of Smith College, teacher in the Latin Department from 1886 until her death in 1923, was one of the most vivacious and inspiring of teachers, with a fast tempo in her classes and a never-failing twinkle in her eye. Her famous "pop questions" usually kept the most lethargic pupil alert in her class. When she was made Dean of Girls, her teaching almost came to an end. As often happens, a highly superior teacher was rewarded by being withdrawn from exercising her rare and special skill to become an administrator. In her memory we have the Jennie S. Spring Scholarship, awarded to a girl graduate for her Freshman year in college. Miss Martha R. Smith, long a teacher of mathematics, inevitably acquired the nickname of "Marthamatics." Miss Constance G. Alexander was a cultivated gentlewoman whose lovely voice, large and expressive eyes, and winsome personality made many a little Freshman girl and boy fall in love with her. She taught *Macbeth* so skillfully that to many of her pupils that was ever afterwards the favorite Shakespeare play. Mr. Max Benshimol taught Greek and geometry with exceptional energy and success. He supplemented his work in school with enormous amounts of private tutoring, and eventually left the school to give his whole time to his New Preparatory School. From Northern Ireland came many years ago Miss Kilpatrick to teach French in Cambridge. The anecdote about her which is hard to forget concerns a clownish boy who played to the gallery. "Jones," she said one day, "stand up." Jones arose. "Jones, make a joke." That was evidently impossible at such short notice. "Jones, you think you are a comedian. You are a fake. Sit down." Jones was thereafter less obnoxious. Recently there was in this school for a year as an exchange teacher a delightful young woman from France. Miss Mary C. Hardy was a stalwart New Englander, whose assiduity, versatility and strength

of character made her a potent factor in the school for several decades. Miss Gertrude B. Duffy was our school psychologist, a woman of large professional equipment, strong human sympathy, especially for handicapped children, and extensive serviceability. Time fails to tell of many, many more.

And what shall we say of the graduates of the school? A very restricted number must be arbitrarily chosen for brief mention.

In education we mention LeBaron Russell Briggs, beloved Dean of Harvard College and, later, President of Radcliffe. The Ivy Orator of the Harvard Class of 1903 said sadly, "The Amazons have got him now." His daughter, Miss Lucia Briggs, followed in her father's footsteps by being for many years President of Milwaukee-Downer College. The Vice-President of Middlebury College in Vermont, Stephen Albert Freeman, who has large responsibility for the development and maintenance of the successful modern language schools at Middlebury and of their branches in France and Spain, graduated from our school, as did his wife. At least four of our graduates have become professors in Boston University in Romance languages, in law, and in psychology. Harvard faculties have included a larger number of our men, notably in mathematics, Sanskrit, and medicine. College professors innumerable and still more headmasters and teachers belong to us. For a long time the University of Pennsylvania had in its Latin Department two distinguished professors who were both graduates of the Cambridge Latin School, the late Professor John C. Rolfe and Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel, now living in retirement. Two successive rectors of the famous private school in Concord, New Hampshire, St. Paul's School, graduated from our school, Dr. Norman B. Nash, 1905, now Bishop of Massachusetts, and Henry C. Kittredge, son of Professor George L. Kittredge. Not long ago honor was paid in Cambridge to a notable Negro educator, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, of the Class of 1900 of the Cambridge English High School, who for fifty years or more was President of Palmer Memorial Institute at Sedalia, North Carolina. She was a speaker at our graduation exercises in 1950, fifty years after she received her diploma from our school.

To represent the Latin School Class of 1900 at that same graduation in 1950 the speaker was Honorable Edward A. Coughin, Jr., Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of our Commonwealth. Other alumni in public life have been William E. Russell, 1873, Mayor of Cam-

bridge and later Governor of Massachusetts; Frederick W. Dallinger, long a Congressman, and then a Federal judge; and W. Randolph Burgess, 1908, one of the chief advisers of the Secretary of the Treasury in the present administration in Washington.

In the world of affairs we are very proud of the achievements of the late Clifford M. Holland, 1902, chief engineer and eponymous hero of the Holland Tunnel; of the late Francis A. Hubbard of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company; of J. Spencer Love, very successful industrialist in North Carolina; and of Frederic B. Whitman, President of the Western Pacific Railroad.

Among doctors we find William S. Thayer, 1881, one of the distinguished medical faculty of Johns Hopkins University; two present members of the faculty of the Harvard Medical School; and an esteemed radiologist at the Massachusetts General Hospital.

We are well represented in the field of religion, for Jewish, Catholic, and many kinds of Protestant churches have been served by our graduates. One of our best scholars is now the eloquent and honored rabbi of a large temple in Roxbury, and he is still an ardent student. The head of the Catholic Boys' Guidance Center in Boston, a very useful man, was in the Class of 1916. Another priest belongs to the Josephite Order and works among Negroes. A woman minister of two churches in South Dakota, whose pastoral duties compel her to drive long distances, even in the severest weather, and who has made a home for a series of orphaned children, has written gratefully of help received from some of our teachers during her difficult high school days. Perhaps the most unusual of these religious workers is a woman missionary in the South Pacific, who has had to learn to sail her ship over the wide areas included in her parish.

Of our authors we may mention E. E. Cummings, who in his recent "non-lectures" at Harvard referred to his life in our school; and Miss May Sarton, poet, novelist, and college teacher. One of our men has been president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and another has edited a genealogical magazine. One of our former students, a successful lawyer, kept up for many years the admirable habit of reading each week for at least half an hour in each of the four foreign languages which he had studied in our school and in college. In music we have Leroy Anderson. Who of us has not enjoyed Arthur Fiedler's renditions of medleys and original compositions by our Leroy Anderson? In the field of sports we

claim Robert D. Wrenn, who in the decade before 1900 was for five successive years national tennis champion; and Eddie Waitkus, now active as a professional baseball player with the Baltimore Orioles.

What about the quality of our most recent graduates? A girl in the Class of 1950 is receiving this month her bachelor's degree at Smith College, *summa cum laude*; she is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and has been awarded a fellowship for graduate study at Radcliffe. A boy who is graduating from the school this month took the difficult competitive examinations set by the National Honor Society for thousands of ranking students all over the country. His percentile is about 99.46, which means that he did better on these examinations than 99.45% of the contestants.

Let us give a final moment to the cosmopolitan nature of our school membership. Not only have we many pupils with Italian, Polish, Greek, and other foreign ancestry, but a considerable number have themselves come very recently from various foreign lands. During the tyranny of Hitler, when one day in Latin class I contrasted the comparatively enlightened rule of the Romans over other peoples during the era of the good emperors with the detestable actions of Hitler towards the nations which he had subdued, a very quiet, courteous boy, who had migrated from Germany only a few months before, stopped at my desk on the way out and said for my ear alone: "Mr. Derry, in Germany everyone loves Mr. Hitler." Years ago some of our prizes were won by a fine Jewish boy who had escaped from Russia a surprisingly short time before. He has repeatedly expressed gratitude for what America has given him. Two Chinese sisters, who had not been long in this country, won some of our prizes not many years ago, then went on to Radcliffe. One more foreign pupil must be mentioned, a brilliant and versatile boy from Cuba. Though he was brilliant, we soon found evidence of superficiality and faulty logic. One of our finest teachers of English, Miss Elizabeth B. Flanders, took him in hand and insisted on making him discipline his mind and his reasoning power. Though he sometimes chafed at the process, he finally realized how much he owed to Miss Flanders. Returning to Cuba, after his years at Harvard, he edited a newspaper, and I think he was Minister of Education in one of the shortlived administrations of his island.

A great public high school like ours is a tremendous enterprise, amaz-

ingly varied in its impact on the lives of boys and girls. The responsibilities resting on the headmaster and all his staff are so heavy that the sympathetic and intelligent interest of the public is essential to the success of the institution. There are glorious pages in the past of our school, and we hope that the future will write even brighter pages.

I, TOO, IN ARCADIA

BY DAVID T. POTTINGER

Read October 26, 1954

PERHAPS no one is more surprised at my position this evening than I am myself. Many years ago, it is true, my old high school teacher, Miss Kate Wendell Cushing, who was Professor Grandgent's sister-in-law, told my mother that she expected to see me some day as an old man walking around Harvard Square. She missed that experience, however, for she died some forty years ago; but here I am standing, if not walking, right on the edge of Harvard Square. I am not sure whether she would think today that the other part of her prophecy was fulfilled or whether she would think it best to wait for me to get a little older. For the trouble about growing old is that you do not know just when it happens. A few years ago when I asked a new temporary clerk at the Coop to charge my purchase, he turned nervously to the experienced young lady who was coaching him in the use of the sales book. "What do I do now?" he said to her. "Do I ask them to show their charge card?" The other clerk took a swift look at me and said — a little too loudly — "Oh, he's all right. You see, if they are old and look as though they had been around here a long time, we take a chance on them!" I got the opposite retort on a recent Sunday when I talked to a new comer at the coffee hour at the First Parish Church. He asked me how long I had attended the church. When I said that the first service I had gone to was fifty-two years ago, he shot back, "That was when you were christened; I didn't mean just that."

Although you are at liberty to take your choice of these alternatives, I know I would never satisfy Mrs. Gozzaldi's standards. Some years ago a Council meeting at her house was discussing the possibilities for papers to be read to this Society. After a long pause someone remarked that he understood Mr. X was writing a history of Brattle Street and might be willing to read us one of his chapters. Our honored founder and vice-president closed her eyes either in pain or in thought and said, "Why, his family has lived on Brattle Street only a little over a hundred years; he couldn't tell us anything we don't know already."

I don't live on Brattle Street, I never have lived on Brattle Street — only just "off" it as my next-door neighbor Bliss Perry used to say — and I probably have nothing new to tell you. But Rollo Brown has written an entertaining book on this same period when I was in college; and my contemporary, Van Wyck Brooks, has devoted several chapters to it in his recent autobiography. And if you do find my paper merely a mirror in which your own experiences are reflected, I don't see why you should on that account have any fear of narcissism.

In an attempt, however, to cover myself with a little authority I have made a calculation which may carry some weight with you. When I came to Cambridge from the East Boston High School to take my final entrance examinations one hot day in June 1902, I looked through the temporary picket fence at the Commencement Day crowd. Not far away I spotted the great guest of the occasion, President Theodore Roosevelt, in vigorous conversation. And somewhere in the throng, so the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* says, I might have seen the oldest graduate who had returned for the day, Francis Boott of the class of 1831. This simple fact means that I have looked upon the faces of the Harvard men spanning an interval of more than a century and a quarter. And since Francis Boott entered college in 1827 and some of today's freshmen will certainly live to the year 2015, I may perhaps claim to have seen two hundred years of Harvard.

Harvard and other college associations were by no means rare in the predominantly Anglo-American community that East Boston was seventy-five years ago. Its golden age was past when Donald McKay had built his magnificent clipper ships in its busy shipyards, and the community had settled down into the comfortable sedateness of a favored residential section of the city. Colby Rood had gained a momentary fame by smashing with ease all of Dr. Dudley Sargent's strength test records. James Everett Frame, of the class of 1891, was already well along on his career as one of the leading theologians of our time. Vannevar Bush's father and mother were other neighbors. If one had had second sight, he would have recognized a future Ambassador to the Court of Saint James's in little Joe Kennedy (Harvard 1912) toddling along beside his benign, white-haired grandfather. Our tiny high school of about a hundred and twenty pupils was in charge of a Bowdoin man, John F. Eliot, whose son was in my college class. We had two Harvard and two Radcliffe grad-

uates among our teachers, Kate W. Cushing, Alma F. Silsby, George D. Bussey, and Charles W. Gerould. And of course almost every physician and every lawyer — a goodly multitude — was a Harvard man.

Nevertheless Cambridge was an almost unprecedented experience to me. It seemed much more like the country than the city. One could walk among the aged elms in the Yard out through the Common to the junction of Garden Street and Concord Avenue and look up in either direction through a green tunnel of magnificent elms toward the observatory. One autumn afternoon when the late sun shed a golden haze through the heavy trees, I came through the 1886-87 gate and looked down the grassy sidewalks and along the dusty roadway. The only person to be seen in all this glory was a boy leisurely driving a cow ahead of him up Broadway. And how is it possible to convey an idea of the suburban magnificence of Massachusetts Avenue with its stately mansard houses sitting well back from the street line and its shady unencumbered road up which a crowd of us used to run in the late afternoon from the Hemenway Gymnasium to Porter's Station?

The buildings, too, were from a different world. I still warm, as I did then, with unabated admiration before the reticence of Massachusetts and Hollis and Stoughton and Holworthy. I am, frankly, still awed by the nobility of Memorial Hall, and I unashamedly catch my breath when I look upon its gorgeous stained glass and upon the marble tablets bearing the names of the Harvard men who died in the Civil War. I can never forget the sense of spaciousness conveyed by the great living room of the Harvard Union, then recently opened, and its heady odor made up of new varnish and wax and the pungent smoke of Turkish cigarettes.

In these surroundings I instinctively felt at home, and here I have remained centered even though for a few years I was not actually on the list of registered voters. The changes wrought by the gypsy moths, four hurricanes, the unfortunate crowding of the Yard with new buildings, the freakish Teutonic character of recent structures — all these things have made no difference. I am not at all like the Proper Boston lady at whose house in Louisburg Square my wife and I were dinner guests a few years ago along with a Law School professor and his young wife. The talk at the table was about philosophical theory, psychology, and similar topics, as you might expect. Finally the professor's wife turned to our hostess with the impulsive remark, "I don't understand much about

these things and I rather avoid them because I find they disturb me. Don't you find, Mrs. X, that they influence your mind?" Whereupon our hostess drew herself up in superb dignity and replied, "No, my dear! Nothing ever influences my mind." I admit, without shame or regret, that Harvard and Cambridge have influenced my mind all my life.

My high school teachers and a great many neighbors, I have said, gave me a preliminary contact with Cambridge, but I had a still earlier one. In the middle nineties the Boston School Committee decided to try the experiment of introducing the study of French into the two upper classes of certain grammar schools, and they appointed a young Franco-American, Charles Hall Grandgent, to supervise the course. The teacher in our school, Miss Cordelia Lothrop, pointed me out to Mr. Grandgent on one of his visits as a pretty good pupil. He called me to the desk after class, took me on his knee (I was really very small), and gave me a most interesting lesson in oral French. He came again and again, gave me copies of his newly published lesson books, and stimulated my interest no end. When I got into high school, I found that his wife was the sister of my German teacher, Miss Kate W. Cushing. For one reason or another, or perhaps only because of the carelessness of youth, I did not recall myself to Mr. Grandgent's attention when I got to Cambridge, but I did know him well in later years when we published some of his books at the Harvard University Press. He was a rather short, rotund man with florid face and snapping black eyes and a most engaging smile. His essays are full of good anecdotes; in fact, he and Professor E. K. Rand were eager rivals for a reputation as the best storyteller on the Faculty. No one ever could decide between them. Both were great scholars, however, equally versed in a knowledge of medieval Latin among other recondite subjects.

Mr. Grandgent's next-door neighbor on Walker Street was Hans Carl Günther von Jagemann, with whom I took a course on Goethe in my Freshman year. He looked like one's idea of a German professor — thick glasses, the scar of a deep sabre slash down his left cheek, a rather solemn air. He could be dour and forbidding in expression; but he did know how to interpret Goethe and on me he beamed with friendliness and kindness. He and Grandgent were great friends and played chess every Saturday evening, alternating at one another's house. When the first world war broke out and incredible bitterness swept away friendships of many years in the Faculty, the two men went right on with their

chess program for the next four years and neither one, it is said, ever mentioned the conflict. Such conduct says much for the innate character of each man.

Like practically all undergraduates of the time, I had no relations whatever with the President, Charles William Eliot. If we were abroad early enough, we saw Mrs. Eliot and him returning from their before-breakfast bicycle ride; and if we went to morning prayers, we saw him sitting in his third row pew in the old Appleton Chapel. It seems incredible that so few people today in the college or in Cambridge ever saw him. As Charles Townsend Copeland once said of him, he was more than a man, he was an institution! But there was a very human side to him. In my senior year the father of a friend of mine died and Mr. Eliot automatically became the boy's guardian. He took a vast deal of personal effort in managing details of the estate and in the boy's daily progress.

Years afterward, when the Press published his *Harvard Memories*, I also saw a good deal of this friendly side. At one time when I sent him a catalogue of our publications, I immediately had a note from him asking about a book called *A Study of the Self*. I replied that it was out of print and that we did not intend to bring out a new edition because the first had sold only very slowly. He answered that he was glad to know this because he did not approve of such books, he considered that introspection was harmful and that only a vigorous, happy outlook onto life should be cultivated.

Eliot was probably the greatest man I have ever known, and yet he was almost equalled by another official of the college, a totally different type of man, LeBaron Russell Briggs. He looked like a farmer, he was incredibly awkward, but he was a superb gentleman and scholar. Along in the twenties, when David Bailey and I published two of his collections of charades in verse, I got to know him pretty well. He had a human warmth and a keenness of personal insight that made him known to everyone as "the beloved dean." His unique charm was never better caught than by Henry Ware Eliot in his book *Harvard Celebrities*. Eliot wrote,

Of all the sprightly figures that adorn the college scene,
The most supremely genial is our own beloved Dean.
He'll kick you out of college, and he'll never shed a tear,
But he does it so politely that it's music to the ear.
He meets you in the ante-room, he grasps you by the hand,

He offers you the easy-chair, and begs you not to stand.
"Good morning, Mr. Sporticus! How is your uncle Jim?
I used to know him well at school—you look *so* much like him!
And you're enjoying college? Yes? Indeed! I am so glad!
Let's see—six E's? Impossible! How very, very sad!"

These lines remind us of one of the Dean's outstanding traits—his phenomenal memory for names and faces. One Saturday afternoon about ten years after I had graduated I was going down the aisle of a crowded train running from Braintree to Plymouth. Suddenly I was stopped by a hand that shot out and grasped mine. It was Dean Briggs, whom I had not seen for all those years but who had me completely identified at once.

There were two other Harvard teachers of the time whom I would put among the supremely great—Francis Greenwood Peabody and William Wallace Fenn, both of them Deans of the Harvard Divinity School. In a world already rumbling with threats of disaster they were serene and poised. They did not stand aside in righteous indifference; indeed, Dr. Peabody's pioneer work in social ethics and settlement house activity is still bearing rich results. But both these men saw life steadily and saw it whole. I set them beside Eliot and Briggs because the four of them seem to me the finest products of nineteenth century liberal thought, the sort of men one would expect to find in Oxford or Cambridge rather than in the regimented German universities that were so much praised fifty years ago. They were in the Anglo-American tradition, and they helped to mould our side of it to the needs of a new day.

Mr. Eliot once said half jokingly that he thought Harvard College reached its lowest point in the nineteenth century about the year 1851. (He himself was in the class of 1853.) In similar vein I have heard it said that another nadir was reached from 1902 to 1909. Like so many other statements this may be important if true. But is it true?

My answer to that rhetorical question is to present to your mental eye three pictures. The first, which you all probably know, is a photograph taken about 1860. Seated in a semicircle are five men, five living Presidents of the college—Josiah Quincy, Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, James Walker, and Cornelius Conway Felton. Was Harvard at low ebb when those five men were alive? The second picture is a portrait group hanging in Emerson Hall. It was painted about 1903 and shows three men in deep discussion—William James, George Herbert

Palmer, and Josiah Royce. Was Harvard at low ebb in 1903? The third picture is a photograph given me by Henry Osborn Taylor, the author of *The Medieval Mind* and a long row of other important historical works. Here there are four men in animated talk, sitting in Taylor's garden at Cobalt, Connecticut. They are Taylor himself, Lawrence J. Henderson, Alfred North Whitehead, and William Morton Wheeler. Was Harvard at low ebb in 1930 when that photograph was taken?

Of course one has regrets for having missed one or another great man. I wish I had known "Stubby" Child; but, on the other hand, I have had the warm friendship of William Allan Neilson and Fred N. Robinson. I wish I had known that genius of literary criticism, Lewis E. Gates, whom I just barely missed. I wish I had known that amazing scholar and poet, Trumbull Stickney, who after taking his A.B. in 1895 went on to Paris for his doctorate and astounded the teachers at the Sorbonne by his skill in conversing in Attic Greek. I did not have Barrett Wendell because he was abroad for two years, nor George Santayana for the same reason. But I scarcely regret either one. In English I had two excellent men in Howard Maynadier and Kenneth Webster. In philosophy I had a course given by Josiah Royce in the first half-year and by Hugo Münsterberg in the second half. Royce was almost beyond my grasp; but I do recall with pleasure how he came into the Summer School office one blazing hot July afternoon a few weeks before his death and asked for help in getting a foreign student taken care of until the regular college offices were opened. As for Münsterberg, Van Wyck Brooks reminds us of his affectedly great difficulty with the mysteries of English phonetics, his continual use of the phrase "wiz ozzer worts." He could be philologically exact, however, as when, at his opening lecture in the new Emerson Hall, he said to the class, "Bleaze, jentlemen, try to geeep zeese nize new floors glean; bleaze do not on zem ejaculate ink from your fountain bens."

I might no doubt have enjoyed Charles Eliot Norton, but there was no question of the values I got from Charles Herbert Moore, who succeeded Mr. Norton in the Fine Arts Department. Once in my Senior year he came to my top-floor room in Stoughton and gave a small group of us a delightful evening of intimate talk about his friendship with William Morris, John Ruskin, and others of the pre-Raphaelite artists and

poets. In the classroom his lectures on the Gothic architecture of France were a continual delight.

The mention of one Moore leads to that of another and far different one — George Foot Moore. He and George Lyman Kittredge were an unrivaled pair of scholars. Moore was a huge, heavy man with a tremendous range of knowledge. "His scholarship," says Dr. Levering Reynolds, "seemed as massive as his frame. He had throughout the University an almost legendary reputation for learning, even in the most out-of-the-way fields. . . . Because of his gigantesque learning, his occasional disclosures of gentleness or personal piety came as something of a surprise to his students." Whether he had a greater store of information than Kittredge or vice versa is still a moot point. But Kittredge, unlike Moore, could ask questions — even if, as you might suspect, he knew the answers already.

Once a friend of mine asked me to look up a point in the Widener Library regarding a medieval English romance. His careful directions as to the location of the material were useless. The next day when I was talking with Kittredge I mentioned the matter to him. He listened attentively and said, "I know the book you want, but this whole point is something I never considered before. Give me your friend's letter and let me think about it a day or two." Within the week he brought me four sheets written in his clear but minute hand which discussed the difficulty and gave a mass of references to authorities he knew could be found in libraries to which my friend had access. And in leaving these pages with me he thanked me for giving him the opportunity to look into an important problem.

At another time I went to his house on a matter of business and after it was finished he asked me to stay for a chat about things in general. I asked him whether he had ever known a victim of murder or a suspected murderer. This drew him at once, for he was a tireless reader of detective fiction. He then listened with absorbed interest to what I could tell him of a brutal crime that had just been committed involving a Stanford University official and his wife whom I knew; and I think Kittredge almost envied me for what I suppose we would now call "guilt by association."

All this, of course, happened long after my undergraduate days and in the time while I was working at the Press, a period when I saw the Faculty not as teachers behind a desk but from the far different point of

view of an administrative officer. In this capacity I had occasional interviews with President Lowell, especially when we were publishing a book for him. I have the very highest regard for him both as a scholar and an administrator, but I like to recall certain incidents that reveal his quite human side. One day there came a call from his secretary, Miss Nora Dwyer, "The President wants to see you at once!" My appearance at 5 University Hall brought instant admittance behind the closed door. Mr. Lowell was about to sign a paper. "Sit down," he waved me to a chair on the opposite side of the desk. He wrote, looked up, and began to talk. After a moment he pushed his chair back, dived for the fireplace, and seized the tongs. Waving this lethal weapon round and round, he circled through the room. Unexpectedly the tongs crashed on the hearth, and the shovel took their place. Please do not imagine that I was being reprimanded; we were merely discussing in the most friendly fashion a matter that absorbed us both. I don't think he would have objected to my getting up and circling the room after him; he would not have noticed.

Mr. Lowell had a tremendous interest in seeing how things worked. One morning Miss Dwyer's voice came over the telephone, "The President will be at your office in five minutes with Lord Charnwood." For some unknown reason Mr. Lowell wanted Charnwood, who was here on a short visit, to see the operation of a monotype machine. So I took them down to the keyboard room where the girls were setting copy and then into the cellar where the casters were making an infernal din. Mr. Lowell, shouting above the noise an explanation of how the plunger forced a stream of molten metal up into the matrix box, pointed with his forefinger at the melting pot. Nearer and nearer crept the finger toward that pool of metal in which the thermometer was registering over seven hundred degrees Fahrenheit. When it got within a couple of inches, I could stand the strain no longer and pulled his arm away.

From those days at the Press I must not neglect to pay tribute to another intellectual giant who was also of human kindness most compact, Charles Rockwell Lanman, Wales Professor of Sanskrit and Editor of the Harvard Oriental Series. If his learning was prodigious, his sympathy and understanding were even more. To this day I treasure certain letters from him that reveal a truly great soul. His deafness was a barrier that many people found hard to overcome, but those who did so were richly rewarded. He was a veteran oarsman, rowing on the river every

day it was free from ice. There is a story that one spring he was very kind to two freshmen who were in difficulties on the water and the three of them struck up so much of a friendship that the boys decided to take Lanman's course the next year. So one morning in September they presented themselves at the room in Sever which was scheduled for Sanskrit 1. As the lecture went on, they looked more and more bewildered. When it was over and they were outside, one looked at the other and exploded, "My God! It's a language!"

During my years in the Graduate School I first met Ephraim Emerton. Thirty years before, he had been among the earliest Harvard graduates to get their professional training in Germany, obtaining his Ph.D. from Leipzig in 1876. I took a seminar with him on the saints' lives of the sixth century, a subject that might seem dull enough in all conscience but that he filled with light and excitement. It was a real adventure to attempt unraveling the intricacies of an almost illiterate monk's Latin. Emerton himself often gave it up, with the remark that the author evidently intended to say thus and so but that no one could possibly fit the words to the thought. Later, of course, I knew him as President and ex-President of this Society and we met on the more immediate ground of our interest in Cambridge history.

From this vantage point he once gave me an indelible lesson in tolerance. We were talking one day about the new Houses along the river and I said it was a pity we could not tear down Weld and Matthews and put in their place some buildings that would be a sort of connecting link between Hollis and Stoughton on the one hand and the architecture of Leverett and Lowell Houses. Mr. Emerton looked at me in amazement. "Why," he said, "what is wrong with Weld and Matthews? I remember that when the generously large funds were given for those dormitories, Mr. Eliot took every pain to select the best architects and to see that every detail of their plans was suitable. In fact, those two buildings were so much admired that a movement was started to tear down Holworthy and Stoughton and Hollis and erect more fashionable structures in their place. Lack of money was all that hindered the project." This was an entirely new point of view to me; I always remember it when I look upon the new Graduate Center and other examples of modernistic architecture in our midst. But — lest I go too far even in tolerance — I also recall that

Mr. Emerson never had to submit to that strain. He didn't know Walter Gropius!

I must, however, get away from these almost contemporary matters and back to the days of a half century ago. Mr. Emerson, as it happened, represented two things that distinguished Harvard's intellectual interests at that time and which held my own attention both as an undergraduate and as a graduate student. The first was an unbounded respect for German culture and learning, and the second was an even greater preoccupation with medieval history, art, and life.

Coming to college with good preparation in German, I took a number of courses in that department. It was among the strongest ones, with Von Jagemann to represent the philological side, followed by Walz, who was just starting his career, with Kuno Francke representing the more aesthetic and cultural aspects, Horatio Stevens White bringing out a different and perhaps more universal interpretation, and Heinrich Conrad Bierwirth and William G. Howard taking care of contemporary literature. The three German courses I most enjoyed were, first, the one by Professor White on Goethe's Italian journey, which proved to have almost nothing to do with German, only a little more with Goethe, and was mainly a revelation of Mr. White's astounding knowledge of Italy and its history, culture, and art. Some of you will remember Professor White and his wife, who were members of this Society. He had been captain of the baseball team in 1873 and, probably for that reason, was chairman of the committee on athletics for years and years. A second course was Will Howard's on nineteenth century literature, ending with a fine introduction to Sudermann and Hauptmann, whose dramas were stirring the world of that day along with Ibsen's and the young Bernard Shaw's. A third course was Walz's in Middle High German — the *Nibelungenlied*, *Parzival*, and so on.

This and Professor Moore's on medieval art in my Senior year were evidences of the emphasis on the Middle Ages that Van Wyck Brooks points out, and so too were the courses I took later in the Graduate School. There is no doubt that at the turn of the century and for long afterward Harvard was a world center for the study of the Middle Ages. In addition to Kittredge, Charles H. Moore, and Walz, whom I have just mentioned, there were a number of other scholars preeminent in this field. Sheldon was giving courses in Old French. Schofield's new Department

of Comparative Literature was largely devoted to the medieval field. Ford and Grandgent offered similar work in early Italian and Provençal, E. K. Rand in the classical culture of the Middle Ages, Robinson in Old and Middle Irish and Welsh. Haskins, Emerton, and Gross, the three great giants of the History Department, made a further contribution. Here was a group of scholars working in a field of knowledge from diverse points of view but integrated by membership in a common learned corporation. The situation might well be compared to that of the Collège de France in sixteenth century Paris when the group of Royal Professors brought again to light the long-buried treasures of Latin and Greek literature. This was the magnificent foundation for Harvard's leadership in the world of learning. At this moment Harvard became a true university.

No one of us in 1902 imagined or could have imagined how close we were to the end of an era. Even when the fatal shots rang out in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, no one could foresee the beginning of a half century of conflict and the complete change we have experienced from the nineteenth century point of view.

All that, however, is scarcely a topic for the kind of reminiscence with which this paper should be concerned. I shall close, therefore, with another picture from the world's "age of innocence." Although I have long been reconciled to silence at the mention of many names from fifty years ago, I cannot help being surprised that the youngest generation seems to know nothing about one of the most colorful personalities of my time — Charles Townsend Copeland, popularly known as Copey. He was a little man, not insignificant but certainly not imposing. By 1902 he had developed a wide reputation as a reader, and he read frequently to college audiences in Sever 111. Most of his selections, as I recall them, were from the Bible and from current writers such as Kipling; he was the only English teacher who ever seemed to realize that anything had been written since the death of Tennyson. He also gave voluntary classes in reading, which I attended. To his wonderful skill in reading he added an uncanny ability to make appropriate and often sarcastic comment that gave him considerable reputation as a wit.

Every Friday evening at ten o'clock he was ready to receive any who cared to call at his room on the top floor of Hollis Hall. Sometimes he might have invited a distinguished visitor — Henry Van Dyke or Horace Traubel or, once, Minne Maddern Fiske — but most often Copey him-

self was master of conversation. One evening varied from another, of course, but on the whole there was lively talk and easy friendliness, and you felt well repaid for going. Again I take the liberty of reading to you an item from Henry Ware Eliot's *Harvard Celebrities*, this time his verses on Mr. Copeland.

If wit and madness be as like, as Pope and others tell,
Then Copey by the merest squeak escapes the padded cell.
Those merry quips, those airy jests he springs in English 8
Mean spinal meningitis at no very distant date.
And is it all spontaneous, or is it (hush!) a bluff?
And does he make them up o' nights, and crib them on his cuff?
Oh, wicked, clever cynic! How dare you be so sly?
How dare you read "Peg Woffington" and make the Freshmen cry?
You bold, delicious joker! You know it, yes, you do!
There's but one clever, clever Copey — and that one is you!

In 1905 Copey was moved up from Freshman composition to English 12, the highest level of instruction in composition normally open to undergraduates. There were so many applicants for the course that he was forced to weed them out by requiring the submission of a sample theme. I could not hand one in because I was suddenly laid low with a heavy cold. When Copey learned of this, he said he would let me in for the second half-year and would ask the Dean to let me count it for a half course. That was a favor and a compliment that I did not deserve, for many of the other men — as they proved in later life — were really top-notch. I could mention ten or a dozen members of the class who in after years attained eminence in law, journalism, or teaching; but quite apart from these were at least eight others who have reached national and perhaps international fame. There was Max Perkins, who became the great editor-in-chief of Scribner's; Earl Derr Biggers, the well-known novelist; Richard J. Walsh, former editor of *Collier's Magazine* and now the head of the John Day publishing house; Maurice Wertheim, the founder of the Theater Guild; Van Wyck Brooks, who has written many brilliant works besides his great *Flowering of New England*; H. V. Kaltenborn, the radio commentator; Henry Goddard Leach, for many years the head of the American-Scandinavian Foundation; and William Leavitt Stoddard, the publicist and author. That is a remarkable proportion of high ability in any group of twenty-five young men.

Copey was not a great scholar and did not pretend to be; but he was a surpassingly great teacher in a field where one has to call forth and develop all the latent personality in a student. To do so is the work of a moment that is all too quickly forgotten, but Copey's success in striking the divine fire in his pupils is a permanent element in American literature.

ANNUAL REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1952

I AM HAPPY to report that our Society has had a prosperous and successful year during 1952. We have proceeded according to the plan proposed a year ago by the Council, that is, that the Society should assume the whole cost of each meeting, with a hospitality committee to perform the functions of hosts and hostesses. The arrangement seems to have worked satisfactorily. By accident rather than by much forethought we were able to secure complete variety in our meeting places: in January, the Commander Hotel; in April, the Harvard Faculty Club; in May, Mr. and Mrs. Forbes's home at Gerry's Landing; and in October, the Technology Faculty Club. In spite of poor weather in January and October, the attendance averaged about ninety for each meeting. The papers were all on what one might call the modern side, with attention to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and never a word about the seventeenth and eighteenth. In January Miss Howe performed another of her miracles in transporting us to the Cambridge of her childhood; in April Mr. Oakes Ames drew upon his unrivaled stores of varied information for a sketch of the development of Mt. Auburn cemetery; in May our Vice-president, Mr. John Wood, recounted the bizarre story of the Rindge family, the great benefactors of our city; and in October Dr. Harold B. Richmond, of the General Radio Company, revealed unsuspected activities of Cambridge citizens in the development of wireless communication. To all these speakers we are most grateful.

We are grateful also to those members who have so graciously served

on the hospitality committees, and especially to Mr. and Mrs. Forbes for their kindness in opening their home to us for the garden party in May.

The Council has accepted with regret the resignations of Mrs. Maurice W. Mather, Dr. and Mrs. H. P. Stevens, Mr. and Mrs. George A. Macomber, Mrs. Gardiner M. Day, Mr. and Mrs. William Bond Wheelwright, Mr. Hugh Montgomery, Mrs. J. Clarke Bennett, Mr. Benjamin P. Ellis, and Mr. Thacher P. Luquer.

We note with sorrow the death of Mrs. Roger Gilman, Mrs. Louis C. Graton, Mrs. Frank B. Hawley, Mrs. Albert G. Keith, Professor Robert K. Lamb, and Mr. Carroll L. Chase.

We have added ten new members: Mrs. L. Eugene Emerson, Mr. and Mrs. James Barr Ames, Mr. and Mrs. Franklin T. Hammond, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Truman D. Hayes, Mr. and Mrs. Roger Saunders Clapp, and Miss Dorothy Manks.

Miss Mabel Colgate and Mrs. Paul Gring have transferred from regular membership to life membership.

On December 31, 1952 we had 241 active members, 8 associate members, and 6 life members, a total of 255.

Respectfully submitted,
DAVID T. POTTINGER
Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1953

THE MEETINGS during the past year have been varied and extremely interesting. It is in large part due to the thoughtful and imaginative planning of our former secretary, Mr. Pottinger, that so many valuable papers have been prepared for our meetings.

At the annual meeting in January 1953 Mr. Ludlow Griscom read a paper on "The Birds of Cambridge."

In April Mr. Lea Luquer of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities spoke on the subject "Sturdy Rooftrees," describing many of the properties in the care of his society.

In May we were guests of Mrs. Henry D. Tudor, and a memorable afternoon meeting was held in her house where the garden made a beautiful setting for the tea party which followed. The papers most appropriately told "The Story of the Oldest Garden Club in the United States and Its Service to Cambridge." Four members of the Cambridge Plant Club described the activities of this pioneer organization bringing the story up to the present day: Miss Lois Howe, Mrs. Dows Dunham, Mrs. Robert Goodale, and Mrs. Ludlow Griscom.

In October Mr. Edward W. Forbes read a paper on "Glimpses into the life of Mrs. Agassiz's School for Girls." Mr. Forbes's mother was a pupil in the school and his delightful story reminded several members of anecdotes from the days of their mothers' attendance in the school.

We are much indebted to our speakers. We are grateful also to the members who have served on the hospitality committees and especially to Mrs. Tudor for opening her house to us for the garden party in May.

We have received with sorrow announcement of the death of these members during the past year: Mr. Arthur Fletcher, Mr. Nathan Heard, Mrs. James Paine, Mrs. Robert Walcott.

We have added three new members: Mrs. Stephen A. Breed, Professor and Mrs. William C. Greene.

Respectfully submitted,
ROSAMOND C. HOWE
Secretary

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1952

Cash on hand January 1, 1952		\$1,007.66
Dues		1,294.00
Guest Fees		23.93
		<u>\$2,325.59</u>
Printing and Stationery	\$ 99.00	
Clerical Services and Postage	143.14	
Cost of Meetings	317.79	
Refund of Dues	5.00	
Bay State Historical League	4.00	
Vault Rental	9.00	
Life Membership Fund	100.00	
Trucking books to Widener Library from Book Binding Company	4.72	
Bank Service Charge36	
		<u>683.01</u>
Cash on hand December 31, 1952		<u>\$1,642.58</u>

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1952

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Maria Bowen Fund

<i>Investments</i>	<i>Book Value</i> <i>1/1/52</i>	<i>Cash Income</i> <i>Received 1952</i>	<i>Book Value</i> <i>12/31/52</i>	<i>Account to which</i> <i>Income was Credited</i>
88 shs. 1st Nat'l Bank (Boston)	\$ 3,718.88	\$198.00	\$ 3,718.88	Camb. Sav. Bank
50 shs. State St. Tr. Co. (Boston)	2,920.00	125.00	2,920.00	Camb. Sav. Bank
10 shs. Merchants Nat'l Bank (Boston)	3,290.00	140.00	3,290.00	Camb. Sav. Bank
25 shs. 2nd Nat'l Bank (Boston)	3,125.00	125.00	3,125.00	Camb. Sav. Bank
Camb. Sav. Bank	6,220.14	206.80	7,014.94	Camb. Sav. Bank
Camb'p't Sav. Bank	1,990.54	60.15	2,050.69	Camb'p't Sav. Bank
E. Camb. Sav. Bank	1,992.26	55.15	2,047.41	E. Camb. Sav. Bank
	<u>\$23,256.82</u>	<u>\$910.10</u>	<u>\$24,166.92</u>	

Life Membership Fund

	<i>Int. Rec.</i>	<i>New Members</i>	<i>Bal. 12/31/52</i>
Cambridge Savings Bank	\$ 37.71	\$100.00	\$1,266.29

Historic Houses

Cambridge Savings Bank	\$114.24		\$3,602.13
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Elizabeth E. Dana Bequest

Cambridge Trust Company	\$ 2.31		\$ 233.01
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Frank Gaylord Cook Bequest

Cambridge Savings Bank	\$ 34.90		\$1,100.28
	<u>\$189.16</u>	<u>\$100.00</u>	<u>\$6,201.71</u>

Book Value of All Funds 12/31/52 — \$30,368.63
Total Income — \$1,099.26

JOHN T. G. NICHOLS, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1953

Cash on hand January 1, 1953	\$1,642.58
Dues	1,135.00
Guest Fees	36.97
Sale of Proceedings	7.50
Bowen Fund	13.50
	<u>\$2,835.55</u>
Printing and Stationery	\$ 95.63
Clerical Services and Postage	150.48
Cost of Meetings	355.22
Bay State Historical League	4.00
Vault Rental	9.00
Life Membership Fund	25.00
Bowen Fund	13.50
	<u>652.83</u>
Cash on hand December 31, 1953	<u>\$2,182.72</u>

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1953

131

Maria Bowen Fund

<i>Investments</i>	<i>Book Value</i> 1/1/53	<i>Cash Income</i>	<i>Purchases and</i> <i>Withdrawals</i>	<i>Book Value</i> 12/31/53	<i>Account to which</i> <i>Income was Credited</i>
95 shs. 1st Nat'l Bank (Boston)*	\$ 3,718.88	\$255.20	\$11.91 *	\$ 3,730.79	Camb. Sav. Bank
50 shs. State St. Tr. Co. (Boston)	2,920.00	125.00		2,920.00	Camb. Sav. Bank
10 shs. Merchants Nat'l Bank (Boston)	3,290.00	140.00		3,290.00	Camb. Sav. Bank
25 shs. 2nd Nat'l Bank (Boston)	3,125.00	125.00		3,125.00	Camb. Sav. Bank
Camb. Sav. Bank	7,014.94	213.83	(11.91) *	7,862.06	Camb. Sav. Bank
Camb'p't Sav. Bank	2,050.69	61.97		2,112.66	Camb'p't Sav. Bank
E. Camb. Sav. Bank	2,047.41	56.69		2,104.09	E. Camb. Sav. Bank
	<u>\$24,166.92</u>	<u>\$977.68</u>		<u>\$25,144.60</u>	

Life Membership Fund

	<i>Bal. 1/1/53</i>	<i>Int. Rec.</i>	<i>New Members</i>	<i>Bal. 12/31/52</i>
Cambridge Savings Bank	\$1,266.29	\$ 38.45	\$25.00	\$1,329.74
Cambridge Savings Bank	\$3,602.13	\$108.87		\$3,711.00
Elizabeth E. Dana Bequest	\$ 233.01	\$ 2.34		\$ 235.35
Frank Gaylord Cook Bequest	\$1,100.28	\$ 33.24		\$1,133.52
Cambridge Savings Bank	\$6,206.71	\$182.90	\$25.00	\$6,409.11
		<u>Book Value of All Funds 12/31/53</u>		<u>\$31,554.21</u>
		<u>Total Income — \$1,160.58</u>		

JOHN T. G. NICHOLS, *Treasurer*.

* Stock dividend of 6-10/13th shares from Bowen Savings Bank account.

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1953-1954

Marion Stanley Abbot

Lillian Abbott

***Sarah Cushing (Mrs. G. M.) Allen*

Margaret Wilder (Mrs. P. F.) Alles

Paul Frost Alles

**Charles Almy*

Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. C.) Almy

Mary Almy

Harriet Hastings (Mrs. O. I.) Ames

James Barr Ames

Mary Ogden (Mrs. J. B.) Ames

Oakes Ingalls Ames

John Bradshaw Atkinson

Louise Marie (Mrs. J. B.) Atkinson

Ellen Nealley (Mrs. G.) Bailey

Gage Bailey

Helen Diman (Mrs. I. W.) Bailey

***Elizabeth Balch*

Alethea Pew (Mrs. E. J.) Barnard

Edmund Johnson Barnard

(L) Mary Emory Batchelder

(L) Ruth Richards (Mrs. A.) Beane

Florence Barrett (Mrs. R.) Beatley

Ralph Beatley

Pierre Belliveau

***Annie Whitney (Mrs. J. C.) Bennett*

Marion Gordon (Mrs. M. B.) Bever

Michael Berliner Bever

**Alexander Harvey Bill*

***Marion Edgerley (Mrs. A. H.) Bill*

Helen Thomas (Mrs. H. L.) Blackwell

Howard Lane Blackwell

**Beatrice (Mrs. A. H.) Blevins*

Frank Aloysius Kenney Boland

Velma Louise Gibson (Mrs. F. A. K.)

Boland

Charles Stephen Bolster

Elizabeth Winthrop (Mrs. C. S.) Bolster

(A) Sylvia Church (Mrs. I.) Bowditch

Laura Post (Mrs. S. A.) Breed

Jessie Waterman (Mrs. Wm. F.) Brooks

Martha Thacher Brown

***Mildred Hunter (Mrs. G. E.) Brown*

Mary MacArthur (Mrs. K.) Bryan

Eleanor Sheridan (Mrs. D. E.) Burr

Douglas Bush

Hazel Cleaver (Mrs. D.) Bush

***Chilton Richardson Cabot*

***Miriam Shepard (Mrs. C. R.) Cabot*

Bernice Cannon

Paul DeWitt Caskey

Ruth Blackman (Mrs. P. D.) Caskey

Louise Fletcher (Mrs. C. L.) Chase

***Edith Hemenway Eustis (Mrs. W. H.)*

Churchill

***Winthrop Hallowell Churchill*

Dudley Clapp

Elizabeth Neill (Mrs. D.) Clapp

Roger Saunders Clapp

Winifred Irwin (Mrs. R. S.) Clapp

Arthur Harrison Cole

Anna Steckel (Mrs. A. H.) Cole

(L) Mabel Hall Colgate

***Kenneth John Conant*

* Died

** Resigned

(A) Associate member

(L) Life member

(A) *Marie Schneider Conant*
 **Julian Lowell Coolidge*
 ***Theresa Reynolds (Mrs. J. L.) Coolidge*
 ***Gardner Cox*
Phyllis Byrne (Mrs. G.) Cox
Abby Chandler (Mrs. J. F.) Crocker
John Franklin Crocker
 **Gerda Richards (Mrs. I. B.) Crosby*
Katharine Foster Crothers
Esther Lanman (Mrs. R. A.) Cushman
Robert Adams Cushman
Sally Adams (Mrs. C. F.) Cushman
Helen Winthrop Daugherty
Gardiner Mumford Day
Katherine Monroe Day
Thomas Henri DeValcourt
Cecil Thayer Derry
Frank Currier Doble
Helen Dammun (Mrs. F. C.) Doble
 ***Mabel Higgins (Mrs. W. B.) Donham*
 ***Wallace Brett Donham*
Elizabeth Flagg (Mrs. S.) Dow
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THE STORY OF THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

BY CHARLES L. TAYLOR

Read January 25, 1955

A BLIND man whose sight has been restored describes his cure in terms other than those of the doctor who performed the operation. For the Norwegians who sang *Ein' Feste Burg* outside Trondheim Cathedral, from which they had been debarred by the Nazis, that event went down into history in quite a different light from the report of resistance given in Germany. In other words, there are two kinds of history — the history to which we belong, which we prize, the story of our fathers' loyalty and of our hope, and the account of events apart from living, human associations and judgments of value; there is living history and moribund history, inside history and outside history. No illustration of this, to my knowledge, surpasses H. Richard Niebuhr's juxtaposition of a few words from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address with the *Cambridge Modern History's* description of the beginnings of this nation.¹ "Four-score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal." "On July 4, 1776, Congress passed the resolution which made the colonies independent communities, issuing at the same time the well-known Declaration of Independence. . . . It sets out with a general proposition so vague as to be practically useless. The doctrine of equality of men, unless it be qualified and conditioned by reference to special circumstance, is either a barren truism or a delusion." On the one hand, *our fathers*, on the other, *the Congress*; on the one, *Four-score and seven years ago* — that is, in a time linked to ours — on the other, *On July 4, 1776*; on the one, *dedicated to the proposition*, on the other, *a barren truism or a delusion*.

From one who has spent more than half his life in the Episcopal Theological School, who looks unto the rock whence he was hewn and to the hole of the pit whence he was digged, you will not expect a cold, critical appraisal. Not that such appraisals are unimportant. The enthu-

¹ H. R. Niebuhr, *The Meaning of Revelation*, New York (Macmillan), 1941, pp. 60-62.

siast may gladly suffer the rebuke of the dispassionate scientist, because the truth is greater than our little conception of it and our narrowness needs larger perspectives. Yet external history, after all, has its beginnings in internal history, in our fathers, in our times, in the propositions to which we are dedicated. Was Abraham Lincoln wrong when he spoke as he did? If we acknowledge our prejudices, and try to be honest, may we too tell our story from the inside?

It was four-score and seven years ago this month when the teaching of this School began, although a chapel service had been conducted on December 15, 1867, and Dean John Seely Stone for two months with Professor A. V. G. Allen for one had already been waiting for the first pupil. Two houses had been secured as temporary quarters on the south side of Mount Auburn Street near Coolidge Hill Road. Some thought the school was likely to move into the cemetery opposite. Dr. Allen thus describes the birth: "It was on the first day of January, 1868, and it was at four o'clock in the afternoon that a student by the name of Sylvester — from Danvers — presented himself. I remember well the day. It was a dark winter afternoon and rather cold. We had a large fire in the open grate, and at four o'clock he came into the study and sat down, and we talked over Church History. That was the opening of the Theological School."²

Later in that same year, 1868, the Trustees acquired the first part of the ship-shaped property which the School now occupies — eastward from Craigie House along Brattle and Mason Streets to the corner of Phillips Place, westward along Phillips Place and Hastings Avenue to the backs of the houses on the east side of Berkeley Place — and St. John's Chapel, the first building to be constructed, was begun. In the following year, 1869, the houses on Mount Auburn Street were left behind; the Chapel was completed. The house at 2 Phillips Place, already standing, became the residence of Dean Stone; another at the corner of Brattle and Brown Street (Irving Place), which has since been torn down, was large enough for the rest of the School. In 1873 half of Lawrence Hall (the dormitory seen most easily from Brattle Street) was ready; in 1875 Reed Hall, which contains offices and class rooms, appeared; in 1879 came Burnham Hall — the refectory — and the deanery, and in the next

² Muller, *The Episcopal Theological School, 1867-1943*, p. 33. In the following footnotes, page references are to Dr. Muller's book when no other source is indicated.

year the second half of Lawrence Hall was added. Later followed a second dormitory, Winthrop Hall (1893), the Library (1912), and various dwellings, until in recent times the School acquired (1950) 101 Brattle Street, which had been the home of its earlier dean, Bishop Lawrence, built two faculty houses (1954), and bought an apartment house at 37-41 Kirkland Street (1954) to round out its complement of eighteen buildings.

But the story of this School is not to be told in bricks and mortar; it is the story of persons or of truth embodied in people. When Cuddesdon College, outside of Oxford, was founded in 1854 for the training of ministers, Bishop Wilberforce made a brief memorandum: "Threefold object of residence here: 1. Devotion. 2. Parochial work. 3. Theological reading." Whether Dean Washburn in his inaugural address in 1920 consciously echoed Wilberforce or not, he must be the one to say, but in calling for "an inner life of a very high order" he stipulated that this life should be built upon a "simple, vital religion," "sound scholarship," and "a practical purpose." These three ingredients provide a convenient outline for the telling of the story of those people who have been most influential in the life of the School.

I. "A SIMPLE, VITAL RELIGION"

Was it Woodrow Wilson who said that the business of the minister is not so much to do something as to be something? We strive for ways in which to express this truth. It is not enough that our students be professionally trained; their character must be such that men respect them as authentic ambassadors of their Sovereign. In a sense religion is always caught more than taught. One says to another: "Behold now, I perceive that this is an holy man of God, which passeth by us continually." (2 Kings 4:9.) A former Bishop of London put the matter in this way: "If ministers are to win people to Christ, they must be winsome." No scholarship alone, no cleverness, no capacities for directing a religious cult, certainly no oratorical powers take the place of the stamp of the man of God.

We need not linger on this point, yet it is vital to remember why the School exists, and to be thankful that its faculty and graduates have in some measure reflected this purpose not only in their words, but in their

lives. Dean Washburn, in the same address just referred to, said that as "Young men training for the ministry want religion before anything else," so the faculty "must look upon religion as their primary concern. . . . We must try very hard to be Christians in our homes, . . . in our communities, . . . in our class rooms."³ Or in the words of Bishop Lawrence, "the public character of an educational institution is not made by the speeches of its deans or president moving about the country, but by the graduates."⁴ And he might have added, the graduates are molded partly by their homes and their fellows, partly by precept, but even more by the glimpses of greatness of spirit which they learn to love and emulate in the formative years of their preparation for their high calling.

The first dean of the School, John Seely Stone, "was revered for his simple piety, his unquestioning faith, his large minded spirit, his manliness, his tolerance, his gentleness, his unfeigned humility."⁵ It is a noble, strong, clean face that stands before me in his portrait as I write. And the men who were associated with him were no small men.

The shape of the School and its subsequent traditions were largely due to Francis Wharton, advisor to the Founder, Benjamin Tyler Reed, and the rector of St. Paul's Church, Brookline, attended by three of the first trustees (Robert C. Winthrop, James Sullivan Amory, and Amos Adams Lawrence). Wharton, indeed, was dean of the School for eleven weeks in spring of '67. In the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* he is characterized as "the foremost American authority on International Law."⁶ His *Criminal Pleading* went into a tenth edition in 1918, his *Criminal Evidence* into an eleventh in 1935, and his *Criminal Law* into a twelfth in 1932. It was he who advocated the location of the School near Harvard in Cambridge; it was he who provided in a unique way for a band of lay Trustees who should be free from ecclesiastical control. Rotund in body, he was also well rounded in mind and comprehensive in spirit, as the following quotation shows. "Our Articles (The thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England) were meant as the symbols of peace and comprehension Wherever we have deviated from this policy our glory and our power have been proportionately diminished.

³ P. 167.

⁴ P. 85.

⁵ P. 56.

⁶ P. 22.

It was by the application of the doctrine of compulsive uniformity that we lost the passionate eloquence of Whitefield, the sagacious sense of Wesley Through it we lost something more — the works and examples of those great confessors, the Puritan Divines of the Restoration, who in their exodus spoiled us of the jewels and wealth of an orthodoxy which we were too indifferent to appreciate, and of a literature whose depth and fulness we were too luxurious and inert to fathom There go John Bunyan, and Baxter, and Owen . . . and there, taking with him as he goes from this his mother church, the glory of the greatest epic poet (Milton) whom the world ever knew. What, indeed, might the Church not have been had her heart been as comprehensive as her standards!"⁷

Here was greatness which profoundly affected the School not only in the fourteen years of Wharton's connection with it, but throughout its history. His mind and heart set the tone. I shall speak of Professors Allen and Steenstra in another connection; their combined service of eighty-one years established the pattern which Wharton had prepared. Then, for nearly four years (1882-85) came as lecturer another of the greatest minds of his time, Elisha Mulford, the author of two important books, *The Nation* (1870) and *The Republic of God* (1881). Mulford was called by Dr. Allen "the ablest and profoundest student of political philosophy that the country had yet produced." And Whittier wrote of him:

Unnoted as the setting of a star
He passed; and sect and party scarcely knew
When from their minds a sage and seer withdrew
To fitter audience where the great dead are
In God's Republic of the heart and mind,
Leaving no purer, nobler soul behind.

I am trying to say that the School's greatest legacy has been its great men, who have themselves illustrated what the minister's calling may be at its best. We hesitate so to describe our closer contemporaries — these were giants in the earth in those days, not ours — and yet the flame has not entirely gone out in men whom we have known and even now are among us, men of a "simple, vital religion," shining as the brightness of the firmament and turning many to righteousness.

⁷ P. 26 f.

Perhaps one of the clearest evidences of this largeness of spirit and one of the chief links that have bound the saints together for half a century has been the little collection of prayers of the elder Professor Nash, the father of the present Bishop of Massachusetts, teacher of New Testament from 1882 to 1912. Here is the spirit in which he taught:

O Christ my Master, these Gospels are a portrait of thee. I follow thee because thou art the truth. Then must I be truthful. Because I love thee so dearly, I must not tell the least, the whitest lie to thy glory. Thou needest not that I should lie. Thy cause doth not hang on my arm. I must not then by dogmatic stratagem seek to win the fight unfairly. Here am I set as one little candle in the midst of many stronger than I. Thy cause is to be maintained by me against doubters. But, unless I am sure that these doubters are wholly forsaken by thee, why may it not be that thy cause is to be maintained in some measure by them against me? If I know that my opinion of thee is profoundly unworthy of thee, then I must expect to be tutored by thee in a thousand unexpected ways. Help me then to go to the study of thy life and times, taking nothing for granted. Help me to lay all dogmas aside. It is hard, very hard, for how ill doth it seem that one ray of glory should be taken from thy crown; and because it is hard, I need thy help. Thou my first love canst alone keep me from telling lies, from forcing the facts to square with my dogmas, instead of patiently waiting all my life long to learn whether there was or was not a dot over some *i* in the story. Thou needest not my pious frauds. But I need thy love. O help me for thy dear sake to keep myself from all manner of untruth and untruthfulness.*

A sufferer from Hodgkin's disease, for five years giving no sign to others that he knew he was under the shadow of death, saddened by the illness of his son, sharing through his passion for the poor and neglected the sorrows of his neighbors, constantly overworked and burdened with the problems of support for his family, he has left us these memorable words:

O master of the hearts of men, make us ill content with any peace save that of our Saviour, who won his peace after he had made the world's ills his own. Hold us back when, in our vulgar pride, we would go apart from the path and life of the lowly. As our Saviour made the carpenter's shop his school, and from it passed to the perfection of Calvary, so may we keep ourselves close to the lives of the great body of men, and pass through things common into the things eternal.

O God, Author of the world's joy, Bearer of the world's pain; make us glad that we are men and that we have inherited the world's burden; deliver us from the luxury of cheap melancholy, and, at the heart of all our trouble and sorrow, let unconquerable gladness dwell.

* *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 30 f.

We ask thee not, O Lord, to rid us of pain, but grant in thy mercy that our pain may be free from waste, unfretted by rebellion against thy will, unsoiled by thought of ourselves, and enobled by devotion to thy kingdom.

O God, with whom a thousand years are as one day: Accept our service, though our lives pass like a watch in the night. That our work need not be undone, stay, we beseech thee, the fever in our hearts, and help us to walk in the light of Thine own eternity.⁹

With these men already mentioned was associated another whose name may be remembered the longest of all, the preacher in St. John's Chapel from 1869 to '76 on the third Sunday afternoon of each month, the subject of Dr. Allen's biography, called unsuccessfully while in Philadelphia to be dean of the School, always its friend and guide, of whose death Bishop Slattery, then a student in the School, wrote: "To young men who had felt that for once they had seen a man of the stamp of Plato or Dante — one of the few greatest souls of all time — it seemed as if the props of the world had fallen away."¹⁰ Such was the impression made by Phillips Brooks. And there were others, star differing from star in glory, Dean Gray a New Yorker never quite at home here, William Lawrence, and Dr. Drown, Max Keller, George Hodges, and, as a student, Henry Washburn. Truly in the School in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century was a generation of God's children.

2. "SOUND SCHOLARSHIP"

We turn now to consider more particularly the intellectual history of the School, its connection with Harvard, its scholarly ambitions and standards, and a few of its attainments. Wharton, Mulford, and Nash have already been mentioned. Wharton, we have said, was largely responsible — together with Frederic Dan Huntington, rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston — for the location of the new venture in Cambridge. Some did not like the proximity of the university and radical ideas. Dean Stone, for example, wrote in 1873: "Our position here in Cambridge is a trying one, unwisely chosen as a *place* for a school of theology; and then our Church throughout the land is more than cold towards the institution."¹¹ "More than cold" is an understatement. At one time only

⁹ *Prayers and Meditations*, pp. 13, 4, 5, 6.

¹⁰ Muller, p. 89.

¹¹ P. 45.

three of the bishops favored the School. Even the Bishop of Massachusetts from 1873 to 1891 (Benjamin Paddock) sent his candidates elsewhere.¹² Up until 1887 Harvard University's catalogue had contained a section about the School, similar to the descriptions of the Medical School and the Law School, but Dean Gray stopped this because of "frequent misapprehensions as to our relations to Harvard and possible injury to the School because of the strong prejudice against Harvard from a religious point of view"¹³ — a prejudice which contagiously extended to the School.

Over the years, however, the record shows both an intimate relation of the School to the University and great benefit to the School because of this association. Sometimes the influence has been indirect. In advocating with Dr. Wharton the location of the School in Cambridge, Dr. Huntington said pertinently about the selection of men for the faculty: "Obscure men will not do. Small men will not do. One-sided men will not do. There must be exemplary piety, unquestioned ability, unimpeachable learning, and a large style of manhood," all of which qualities were particularly needed in Cambridge "where the genuineness, the thoroughness and the comprehensiveness of a teacher's mind would be subjected to more trying tests" than elsewhere.¹⁴ In other words, the School was deliberately set down in the midst of the most severe intellectual competition and friendly stimulus.

But the contribution of Harvard to its little neighbor has also been direct.

As now in 1955 committees of the Harvard Divinity School and the Episcopal Theological School are working on the possibilities of increased cooperation, it may be pertinent to recall that as early as 1868 Andrew Preston Peabody wrote to Mr. Rand of the School: "The Corporation of Harvard College will be most happy to give to your Theological School a beneficial connection with the University and to assign to it the same place in the annual Catalogue which is given to the professional schools immediately under their control."¹⁵ Dr. Muller points out that the benefits were not all in one direction; in those early days, as

¹² The public, including Bishop Paddock, feared the Unitarians at Harvard, feared historical criticism, feared those who thought more clearly or ventured more rapidly than themselves.

¹³ P. 65.

¹⁴ P. 30.

¹⁵ P. 52.

Dean Gray's words have reminded us, Harvard was feared and suspected throughout the land because of strong Unitarian influence. I do not mean that the caboose drew the locomotive, but the men in the cab were glad to have non-Unitarians in the train. Harvard gave the School full access to its libraries, lectures, and other facilities; it also advertised the School in the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's* as one of its departments. Hence it was not surprising that a newspaper account of June, 1871, should say, "The first Commencement of the Episcopal Theological School, which is a constituent part of Harvard University, took place on the 21st." That statement was wrong, but up until 1879, as Muller points out, "there was nothing to lead the uninformed reader to suppose that the School was anything but part of the University."¹⁶

Broken by Dean Gray, the close ties were renewed in 1914 when Professor Washburn and Dean Hodges took the steps leading to the affiliation which is thus described in the Catalogue: "Students in each institution may take courses in the other without payment of fee; students in each have free use of the libraries and museums of the other, and graduate students in theology at the Episcopal School may, under certain conditions, become candidates for the higher degrees of the University." Athletic privileges are also included. Much could be added on this subject — how the traffic across the Common runs in two directions, how Dean Washburn dreamed of St. John's College in Harvard University, and how the time now seems ripe for a high degree of mutual assistance between the two theological faculties — but I prefer to dwell on the University's influence upon the School's scholarly standards and aims.

Dean Gray who, you recall, was jealous for the School's independence, nevertheless wrote boldly: "This, then, is what the School stands for: candid, advanced, unpartisan, manly preparation for the ministry of Christ in this comprehensive Church. Nothing else is feasible in the presence of a great university, where men have learned to think for 'themselves.' It is clearly demanded that our methods be modern in a place where the art of instruction has reached so high a development The studies must be pursued in a mature way, books prepared for scholars are to be used, and no issue is to be evaded."¹⁷

"No issue is to be evaded." Dean Hodges wrote of Peter Henry

¹⁶ P. 53 f.

¹⁷ P. 75.

Steenstra, "He is a teacher in whom faith and fearlessness meet He has a fine impatience of superficial work, of pleasant fallacies, of conclusions which cost nothing, and of opinions whose chief merit is that for the moment they are 'safe.' He believes that nothing is permanently safe except the everlasting and invincible truth."¹⁸ It was Steenstra who led the students into the historical critical study of the Old Testament at a time when literal inspiration had only just begun to be questioned. There is a familiar story of a conversation between Bishop Lawrence and the deaf, Dutch ex-Baptist that illustrates the revolutionary thinking of those days:

Lawrence: "Aren't you coming to the Matriculation dinner?"

Steenstra: "No, I have to prepare my lecture for tomorrow."

Lawrence: "Why not use last year's?"

Steenstra: "I can't, I no longer believe it."

But the remark about him that I cherish most comes again from Dean Hodges: "He has never been nervously orthodox, that is, he has never been in fear lest something should happen to the truth. He has been in no more distress as to the effect of the critics on the Bible than as to the effect of the astronomers on the stars."¹⁹

Howard Chandler Robbins, who transferred from a very conservative seminary, described his experience thus: "It was like stepping out of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth The great note of this liberal school was the note of reality. Its atmosphere was the atmosphere of freedom Truth was not looked upon as a frail thing, to be defended by human ingenuity, but as something so mighty that all it demanded of us was loyalty, and courage to follow it in whatever direction it might guide."²⁰

The School's greatest teacher, in all probability, was A. V. G. Allen, Professor of Church History for forty-one years, author of *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, *Jonathan Edwards*, *Christian Institutions*, *The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks*, and according to Dr. Drown, the superior in the classroom of Palmer and Royce and Harnack. The best single illustrative anecdote about him was told by the elder J. W.

¹⁸ P. 94.

¹⁹ P. 93 f.

²⁰ P. 120.

Suter: "You would come into his class and he would, let us say, begin to talk about the Novations. Up to that time you had probably not heard that there were such people as Novations. Dr. Allen would explain their significance and add, 'But there is one point still unexplained, a very important point, one that should be cleared up.' You would go out of the class feeling that the most important thing for the welfare of the Church was that this point about the Novations should be cleared up, and that probably you were the man to do it."²¹

"Sound Scholarship"! Time would fail me to tell of other teachers of more recent periods, of Drown and Fosbroke, of Washburn and Hatch, of the younger trio to whom I personally owe so much, Thayer Addison, Norman Nash, and Angus Dun, and of Muller, the historian of the School out of whose book this paper is written. George Hodges, dean of the School from 1894 to 1919, though not primarily a scholar, was a unique popularizer of enormous influence through his thirty-five books. Norman Nash was one of the two best teachers I have had in half a dozen colleges or universities on three continents. Dr. Drown shaped the thinking of about thirty living bishops of the Episcopal Church. Of him Professor George Herbert Palmer, who, by the way, lived in the Deanery for four years while Dean Lawrence lived at 101 Brattle Street, said: "I have had no man his superior and I do not know that I can say that I have ever had a man his equal in my department of philosophy." Addison, despite ill health, produced nearly a score of books, including the definitive history of the Episcopal Church. Hatch has been one of the world's leading authorities on the manuscripts of the New Testament, and recently Professor Shepherd, a leading liturgical scholar, provided the standard commentary on the Book of Common Prayer. This list omits much; its emphases may be erroneous; the point is that the School has consistently sought, demanded and hitherto secured scholarship of a high order, consistent with the intellectual leadership given the world by our neighboring university.

3. "A PRACTICAL PURPOSE"

On the School's shield are the words *Veritas et Vita*. "*Veritas*," said Dean Hodges, "suggests our neighborhood to Harvard; and the addition

²¹ P. 101.

of the words *et Vita* denotes our purpose, which is to apply truth to life." ²² The founding fathers not only put the School in Cambridge; they were careful to see that it kept "close to the lives of the great body of men," and therefore made a unique venture in control: they established a lay Board of Trustees. Why the curious anomaly of a theological school without theologians on its governing board? This was Bishop Lawrence's answer: "Students of theology . . . must always be intellectually ahead of the average and if in theology a man is ahead of the average, he is liable to be dubbed a heretic by the average and pulled back." "Those who planned the foundations of the School decided that laymen, who did not necessarily know theology, would be better administrators of a theological school than bishops or clergymen who, knowing something of theology, might in their differences forget to notice the more important things." ²³ Far be it from us to suggest that theological administrators are inferior. The reason for the success of the system has been that the lay Board has supported a forward-looking, intelligent, and practical-minded faculty in ventures which often timid ecclesiasticism might have quashed. The Bishops of Massachusetts, notably Lawrence, Sherrill, and Nash, have perhaps exercised greater influence upon the School through wise advice, voluntarily sought, than they could have done by official command. The School itself trained these leaders who have known how to lead, not drive, to persuade, not coerce. The Church at its best is not a club of authoritarian prelates; it is a body in which lay men, and women, too, have a large share in the work which brings the good news to them and the world.

As examples of the School's constant connection with life, its "practical purpose," from a wealth of material we may mention briefly the following:

1. Bishop Lawrence was unalterably opposed to anything akin to oratory in the pulpit, and drilled his students in translating theological language into terms which the people in the pews could easily understand, insisting on simplicity and naturalness in delivery. Beginning in 1890, a voice teacher has assisted in this work.

2. The elder Nash had a great passion for social betterment, a zeal which he passed on to his son. For thirteen years H. S. Nash led a club

²² P. 127.

²³ P. 23.

the purpose of which was to study the Church's social responsibility. A number of the leaders in this movement have been Cambridge men. In 1944 the Cincinnati School of Social Work was moved to and combined with the School at 99 Brattle Street. For many years Bishop Dun was also a leader in the Family Welfare Society of this city and Chairman of the Budget Committee of the Community Chest.

3. Dean Hodges brought to his work here valuable experience from Calvary Church, Pittsburgh, and initiated many into the mysteries of running Sunday Schools, preparing candidates for confirmation, parish visiting, administration, and preaching. Muller quotes from Hodges on Chrysostom a passage applicable to himself: "What he said was clear and definite; nobody could mistake what he meant; he had emotion, he had humor, he had sympathy, he had passion . . . And he addressed himself straight to common life."²⁴ From the beginning the School has found pastoral training important.

4. Under Henry Washburn and Angus Dun the School not only held an honored place in the Episcopal Church; it assumed leadership in the Ecumenical Movement. The two clerical members of this Church on the present Central Committee of the World Council of Churches are graduates.

5. As early as 1933 clinical training at the Massachusetts General Hospital was begun; in fact, five years before physicians and social workers lectured to the students.²⁵ Now in 1955 there is a highly developed program of supervised work for students in near-by parishes, and a prescribed summer of clinical training in well-directed centers. Many of the students also have training in ministering to penal institutions.

6. In 1940, because she was the best in her field, Dean Dun brought to the School Dr. Adelaide Case to teach Christian Education, thereby indicating both the importance of the subject and the School's continuing readiness to explore new paths — the inclusion of a woman on the faculty of a theological school. Her death in 1948 brought a loss from which the School still suffers.

7. From the beginning the School has been concerned with the missionary outreach of the Church. One member of the Class of 1874

²⁴ P. 106.

²⁵ Long before that, from 1895 to 1914, Robert A. Woods had taken our men to settlement houses and taught part-time in the School.

went to Japan. Now on Tuesday mornings we pray for some thirty graduates overseas. Whereas once the School was spurned by the bishops, now thirty-two of its graduates hold that office, comprising about one-fifth of the total number of bishops. Wherever the Episcopal Church is at work, there is the School, in the persons of pastors, teachers, college presidents, headmasters, chaplains, or specialists pioneering in some new area of the Church's life.

8. The "practical purpose" in this present area involves also a certain amount of help to the wives of students, for half of the 107 students currently enrolled are married. In the first decade of the School's life there were only about a dozen students annually. From 1889 to nearly 1930 the average was about forty; in 1940 there were sixty-two; after the war the number rose to nearly one hundred for each of the past six years. But the community has grown even more, for whereas until 1940 only a few considered that at that stage of life it was not good for man to be alone, now a new era is upon us. The wives must also be housed and fed, and be taught the meaning of Christian fellowship, to which also they very richly contribute.

Library, music, curriculum, tutorial and preceptorial methods, the grounds — the old walnut-butternut tree of which Longfellow wrote, and "the little tower" on the top of Reed Hall that came down as the result of the 1938 hurricane — the present School, the record of the alumni, and the periodical raiding of the faculty to fill other important places in the Church — of how much there is little or no mention here!

But in conclusion, is it not in order to ask again what has been the secret of the School? What has enabled her to give the Church some of its outstanding leadership? To what fundamental principles is she to adhere if she is to keep her usefulness in the future?

In a paragraph, the answer is this. She has understood the right relation between the sacred and the secular, never withdrawing from the world except for the purpose of returning to it refreshed by the love of the Lord. Her latest book, Dr. Fletcher's *Morals and Medicine*, shows her again venturing into a field that most men are content to leave out of religious concern. She has never thought of the ministry as a calling in which a few individuals glorify themselves at the expense of Church people: rather, ministers and lay folk alike go forth to spend and be spent in the service of their fellows in the service of the Lord. She has trained

men for this. She has understood that the minister must be both professionally highly equipped and non-professionally a godly man. His authentic humanity is not to be lost in his clerical collar. She has not taken herself too seriously, but with humor and humility kept steadily at her task. She has known how to bring laboriously garnered learning to bear on present problems, so that Thayer Addison, for example, could step from the classroom to the direction of the Church's overseas mission, or, better, that the faculty could reply with a book, *Creeds and Loyalty* (1924), to an effort of a group of bishops to enforce upon the Church conformity to a questionable theological opinion. She has understood the relationship between freedom and authority, between the individual and the group, between faith and works. Loyal to the Episcopal Church, she has pioneered in the Ecumenical Movement, in the spirit of Amos Adams Lawrence, who almost a century ago wrote: "I believe the Protestant Episcopal Church is the best. On that account I joined it nearly forty years ago, and my love of it has increased ever since. But this does not prevent my loving Christians of other denominations and acting with them; and especially it does not prevent my living and acting with those of my own denomination who entertain opinions in which there are 'shades of difference.'"²⁶ Especially she has kept the balance, the vital balance, between a "simple, vital religion," "sound scholarship," and "a practical purpose."

Although a paper such as this might well end with Phillips Brooks' tribute to the School (Muller, p. 83) may I echo, after thirty years of life in it, what Bishop Lawrence wrote to Dean Hodges on the day of the former's consecration, the day after the latter's election to be dean: "In all soberness I can say that it is the one position which in attractiveness, effectiveness, hope, opportunity, and joy, stands first in the Church."²⁷

²⁶ P. 15.

²⁷ P. 106.

THE CURTAIN-RAISER TO THE FOUNDING OF RADCLIFFE COLLEGE

THE SEARCH FOR A "SAFE, PROMISING, AND
INSTRUCTIVE EXPERIMENT"

BY MARY HUME MAGUIRE

Read April 26, 1955

LAST autumn Radcliffe College observed her seventy-fifth anniversary. This joyous occasion brought hundreds of alumnae back to celebrate with their Alma Mater. It also produced an unprecedented spate of articles in magazines and newspapers and one charming small book, *An Acre for Education*, by David McCord, all describing the founding, early history, and growth of the college. Consequently when I came to grips with the problem of selecting the specific aspect or episodes of Radcliffe history as requested by the invitation of this Society, I ruefully realized that much of the cream had now been skimmed off the top of the bottle. Furthermore, I suspected that many members of this Society not only might have read these recent publications but also might have listened to parents and older friends who had been participants or spectators tell vivid personal stories of what have been called "Annex-dotes." What could I bring that would be fresh and interesting, add to common public knowledge, and be covered adequately within the time allocated to me this evening? One or two excellent topics like the developing relation between Harvard and Radcliffe which culminated in the present peculiar constitutional relation between the two institutions, is too long and complicated for a single paper. There is, however, an interesting tale, which I have never found anywhere in print in its completeness, of what Harvard offered to women before Mr. Gilman produced his plan in 1879. This I call "The curtain-raiser to the founding of Radcliffe."

You are all aware that unlike her sister colleges, Radcliffe cannot claim a founder. She has no Matthew Vassar or Sophia Smith eager to endow an institution of higher education for women to bear his or her name. There is no counterpart of Mary Lyon crusading up and down

the Connecticut valley and through the New England countryside with her little black bag in which she collected contributions of varying amounts, none large, some even in dimes or pennies, in order to secure permanent advanced instruction for women. There is no ardent feminist like Carey Thomas who dominated the early development and established the characteristic tone of Bryn Mawr. As a matter of fact, had any such crusader for women's rights entered the picture in Cambridge, the doors of Harvard might have shut tight for many decades before any key could have been shaped to open them. Radcliffe alone among the women's colleges follows the tradition of the renowned universities of medieval Europe which arose out of the demands of students flocking to study under famous teachers.

Radcliffe College grew out of the desire to secure Harvard instruction for women. To achieve this goal several abortive or short-lived experiments were conceived and tried before Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Gilman finally hit upon the device destined to foliate in the unpretentious Circular No. 1 which appeared on February 22, 1879, announcing "Private Collegiate Instruction for Women," later affectionately nicknamed The Harvard Annex. Radcliffe was born of an idea, and as Mrs. Agassiz remarked later, "The idea was in the air."

After the Civil War a vigorous movement sprang up to secure more adequate educational opportunities for women. Independent colleges led the way with the opening of Vassar in 1865. Smith and Wellesley followed in 1875. Women gained admission to various state universities throughout the Middle West and were promised access to new privately endowed institutions like Cornell, which in 1868 opened its doors to both men and women, the first coeducational university in the East. Its founder, Ezra Cornell, was a Quaker who wished to provide a non-sectarian place of learning where "any person can find instruction in any subject." Some years later Henry W. Sage, a trustee, gave Sage Hall for women to fulfill the promise that "Cornell University is pledged to provide and forever maintain facilities for the education of women as broadly as for men."¹

Harvard could not remain untouched by all this. Contrary to commonly-held assumption, during the years 1869-79, the decade preceding

¹ Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr*, pp. 53-54.

Mr. Gilman's proposal, Harvard did not act the role of deaf-mute when the women came a-wooing.

At this strategic moment Charles William Eliot was elected president of Harvard and his attitude became all-important in formulating the answer of Harvard to the women on her threshold. Most of these at that particular moment, 1869, had already received their bachelor's degree and, longing to qualify for the learned professions, came knocking at the University gate. Mr. Eliot was of course aware of the coeducational policy established at Ithaca by President White. He had read the charter granted to Boston University only the preceding month, in May, 1869, opening all parts of that institution to women.² He had undoubtedly learned of recent attempts by several women to gain admission to the Harvard Medical School in 1867 and 1868 which failed because of strong opposition on the part of the Medical Faculty. His inaugural address immediately gave notice of innovation, experimentation, and new emphasis in Harvard educational goals and methods. Nor was he afraid to face the problem of higher education for women and Harvard's share, if any, in it.

The attitude of the University in the prevailing discussions touching the education and fit employments of women demands brief explanation. America is the natural arena for these debates; for here the female sex has a better past and a better present than elsewhere. Americans, as a rule, hate disabilities of all sorts, whether religious, political, or social. Equality between the sexes, without privilege or oppression on either side, is the happy custom of American homes. While this great discussion is going on, it is the duty of the University to maintain a cautious and expectant policy. The Corporation will not receive women as students into the College proper, nor into any school whose discipline requires residence near the school. The difficulties involved in a common residence of hundreds of young men and women of immature character and marriageable age are very grave. The necessary police regulations are exceedingly burdensome. The Corporation are not influenced to this decision, however, by any crude notions about the innate capacities of women. The world knows next to nothing about the natural mental capacities of the female sex. Only after generations of civil freedom and social equality, will it be possible to obtain the data necessary for an adequate discussion of women's natural tendencies, tastes, and capabilities. Again, the Corporation do not find it necessary to entertain a confident opinion upon the fitness or unfitness of women for professional pursuits. It is not the business of the University to

²The School of Theology was the first to function. The College of Liberal Arts opened in 1873.

decide this mooted point. In this country, the University does not undertake to protect the community against incompetent lawyers, ministers, or doctors. The community must protect itself by refusing to employ such. Practical, not theoretical, consideration determine the policy of the University. Upon a matter concerning which prejudices are deep, and opinion inflammable, and experience scanty, only one course is prudent or justifiable when such great interests are at stake — that of cautious and well-considered experiment. The practical problem is to devise a safe, promising, and instructive experiment. Such an experiment the Corporation have meant to try in opening the newly established University Courses of Instruction to competent women. In these courses the University offers to young women who have been to good schools as many years as they wish of liberal culture in studies which have no direct professional value, to be sure, but which enrich and enlarge both intellect and character. The University hopes thus to contribute to the intellectual emancipation of women. It hopes to prepare some women better than they would otherwise have been prepared for the profession of teaching, the one learned profession to which women have already acquired a clear title. It hopes that the proffer of this higher instruction will have some reflex influence upon schools for girls — to discourage superficiality and to promote substantial education.³

President Eliot thus came forward at the very beginning of his presidency with the prospect of cordial welcome to women within certain limits by Harvard. They must not ask for a Harvard degree. They must not inject complications into social supervision of the student body by becoming students in residence. But the University would gladly try an experiment by admitting women with satisfactory secondary school background and records to certain liberal arts courses which should enrich their minds and train them to be better teachers. Each student might if she so wished continue these courses over a period of several years, thus gaining considerable proficiency. This in time should stimulate better secondary schooling for girls and prove a substantial contribution to women's education. Few people are aware that the original offer to open certain educational resources at Harvard was freely initiated by President Eliot and the Corporation and that it was not the consequence of insistent demands on the part of women themselves.

What were these "University Courses of Instruction" and what happened in this first cautious experiment? President Eliot lost no time after his inauguration in June in organizing them. The Corporation minutes

³ Morison, *Development of Harvard University, 1869-1929*, p. lxx. Morison gives Eliot's inaugural address in full.

are evidence of an immediate desire to implement this policy. On August 28th the Corporation voted "that the fees for the University Courses in Philosophy and Literature be as follows — for either course one year \$150, payable \$100 at the beginning of the first term and \$50 at the beginning of the second term. For either course one term \$100 payable in advance. For both courses one year \$200, payable \$135 at the beginning of the first term, \$65 at the beginning of the second term. For both courses one term \$135." They further voted that the fees received from the students in each University Course be divided among the lecturers in proportion to the number of lectures given by each respectively. At their next meeting on September 18th, the Corporation voted to confer with a Committee of the Overseers on the subject of an examination for honors of those persons who would attend the University lectures. Richard Henry Dana, Jr. and Charles Francis Adams represented the Overseers in the exchange of views with the Corporation about such an examination. The Corporation delegated another obvious problem of administration by referring questions concerning the use of the library by graduate scholars, non-resident medical students, and persons attending University Courses of Instruction to the Committee on the Library.

The Harvard catalogue for 1869-70 contains this announcement. "The following systematic courses of instruction are given this year to graduates, teachers, and other competent persons (men and women). There is no examination for admission. Residence in Cambridge is not essential. At the end of the year an examination for honors will be held in each of the two subjects; but attendance at these examinations will be voluntary. The precise nature of the honorable mention is not yet determined. Similar instruction will be given next year, but in greater variety."⁴

In Modern Literature six courses were listed with the following lecturers: Maxime Bôcher, Francis J. Child, Elbridge L. Cutler, William Dean Howells, James Russell Lowell, W. D. Whitney. The hours were Monday, Wednesday, Saturday at 3 P.M. throughout the academic year. In Philosophy we find an even richer offering of seven courses by an outstanding group of professors: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Francis Bowen, John Fiske, C. S. Peirce, F. H. Hedge, J. Elliot Cabot, George Park Fisher. The registration, however, proved disappointing. Three men

⁴Pp. 102-103.

signed up for both courses; four students registered for Philosophy, of whom three were men and one was a woman, Mrs. B. F. Brooks, of whom we shall hear more presently; six, all women, elected Modern Literature. These women pioneers were Miss Mary Prentice Allen of Marblehead, Caroline Earle of Jamaica Plain, Harriet Minot Pitman of Somerville, two sisters from Providence, Emma Graves Shaw and Sarah Shaw, and Mary Angeline Wright of Boston. Miss Allen later married and her daughter, Mrs. Mary Fabens Boles, Radcliffe '03, has sent me a photostat copy of the bursar's receipt for her mother's payment of \$150 for this course. Unfortunately Mrs. Boles could tell me nothing further about her mother's experiences at Harvard. She only knew that Miss Allen had had a most exciting time as a teacher of Negro children in Charleston, South Carolina, immediately after the Civil War.

The best description of this whole experiment is given by Dr. Francis G. Peabody, Harvard '69, in an article on "The Germ of the Graduate School" in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*.⁵ He was one of the six men enrolled. Interestingly enough another of the group, Joseph B. Warner, was intimately connected with the Annex ten years later. Dr. Peabody stressed the importance of the University Courses as the first serious attempt to prolong the period of liberal studies beyond the term required for the A.B. and thus to convert Harvard College into a university. "The two groups [of professors] made a constellation of talent more brilliant than had ever been seen, or perhaps has been seen again, in American academic life, and the announcement of the list of philosophers was greeted by friends of the new administration with enthusiasm, and by conservatives with outspoken condemnation or dismay." The results were, however, most disappointing. President Eliot in his report merely states that four graduates of Harvard presented themselves for the examination in Philosophy but "no one desired to undergo examination in the course in Modern Literature." Dr. Peabody describes vividly his fellow students, the professors, and lectures and concludes sadly, "The new opportunity was greeted for the most part as an intellectual recreation, and the first chance ever offered to women to secure academic credit by a Harvard examination was lost. . . . The courses in Literature had been accepted as a form of intellectual recreation by casual listeners. The

⁵ December, 1918, pp. 176-181.

courses in Philosophy had been meagerly attended and seriously, though stumbingly, followed by but four youths." The most important product, according to Dr. Peabody, was four notable books by various professors and the final summary of Emerson's thought. It is not surprising that with so little demand the experiment was not repeated.⁶ Here, however, is the forerunner of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and less directly of the Annex.

In addition to these University Courses there were also University Lectures intended for college graduates, teachers, and other competent adults, men and women.⁷ These consisted of groups of eighteen or thirty-five lectures in eleven courses, the fees varying from \$5 for eighteen to \$10 for thirty-five. The enrollment was much larger, 65 men and 90 women registered. Their names are not given. The catalogue for 1871-72 also lists a set of lectures, but the demand again was so slight that Eliot confessed that the scheme had "failed hopelessly."⁸ The University Lectures demonstrated that for real, steady development the University must place its reliance upon resident, paid, professional teachers.⁹ Consequently in January, 1872, a Graduate Department was created with a reformed A.M. and the establishment of higher degrees, Ph.D. and S.D.

Why did the women fail to seize this golden opportunity which might have greatly hastened the day when Harvard education would become available to women students at the undergraduate level also? I can find no specific contemporary explanations. In fact, the total lack of comment and reference to this experiment at that time outside the president's report is significant. To take a dark view of the whole matter, perhaps we in later years have exaggerated the demand by women in this period for higher education. It may have been more vocal, more theoretical, than genuine. To me this seems too harsh a judgment. Various other possible answers immediately suggest themselves. Few women then had the necessary background for work at the graduate level. The first class, a small one, had graduated from Vassar only that very June. Cornell had just opened the preceding year. Smith, Wellesley, and Colorado College, which sent students in those first years to the Annex a decade later, were still unborn. Those women who were knocking at the gates of Harvard

⁶ Morison, *Development of Harvard University, 1869-1929*, p. 453.

⁷ Harvard Catalogue, 1870-71, p. 108.

⁸ Eliot, *Annual Reports, 1869-70*, pp. 19-20; 1871-72, p. 13.

⁹ Morison, *Development of Harvard University, 1869-1929*, p. 453.

around 1869-70 and who did have college background sought a different type of professional training, namely medical or legal. Why did no teacher covet this opportunity for further instruction in literature or philosophy which she in turn could have used in her own classes? Perhaps there was not enough advance notice so that she could be freed from her teaching contract in order to register this first year. Furthermore, the fees which seem modest to us today were very high for that period. However that may be, it is evident that the specific demand and the proffered opportunity did not at that moment mesh. Probably the six women who registered for the Modern Literature Course were not adequately prepared and hence hesitated to present themselves for the examination. Neither did the three men. Instead of being "casual listeners" or treating the lectures as "intellectual recreation," as Dr. Peabody contended, they may have found themselves far beyond their depth and so like other untried swimmers sank without a trace. We shall never know.

Time does not permit me to describe in detail the first efforts of women to gain entrance to the already existing schools of medicine, law, and theology at Harvard. These also commenced in the decade, 1869-79, which we are discussing. It is a most exciting tale, so well documented in minutes of the Corporation and Board of Overseers and frequently with vivid comments on the debates in the minutes of the faculties concerned that it merits a full chapter to itself.

Briefly, the story is this. Women first tried to crash the gates to the Medical School. More frequent and determined efforts over a longer period of time were made by women to secure medical training at Harvard than any other form of professional education. Interestingly enough the Governing Boards were apparently sympathetic to this pressure, the Medical Faculty militantly opposed. In Law, the early story is quite the reverse. Here the Faculty were sympathetic and ready to provide the substance of legal training if not technical admission to a law degree, but the Corporation refused. Only one woman applied for admission to the Divinity School, in July, 1869. The Faculty promptly rejected her request.

The Bussey Institute was more hospitable and became the one professional school to welcome women. On April 28, 1871, the Corporation voted "that women may be admitted to the courses on agriculture, horticulture, and entomology at the Bussey Institution." Apparently they

could not take courses for credit, for on January 12, 1891, Mr. Watson was voted permission to give instruction in horticulture to a class of young women on special terms, "provided that they are not registered as students of the Bussey Institution."

Last of all came the demand for work in courses in arts and sciences at the graduate level. On May 27, 1878, an application was received from a Vassar graduate for admission to such courses during 1878-79. "After consideration the request was refused."

Before Mr. Gilman developed his project for "Private Collegiate Instruction for Women" one more experiment was conceived and put into practice to secure the cooperation of Harvard professors in educating women, namely, the establishment of Harvard Examinations for Women.¹⁰

In January, 1872, a small group of women, fifteen in number, called a conference of both ladies and gentlemen at Wesleyan Hall, 36 Bromfield Street, Boston, to discuss ways and means by which they might further women's education. The moving spirits in the effort were Mrs. Charles S. Pierce and Mrs. B. F. Brooks, the latter having been the lone woman who took the University Course in Philosophy two years earlier. Out of this preliminary meeting evolved the Woman's Education Association founded on January 24, 1872, "to promote the better education of Women."¹¹ They consulted university presidents, teachers, and members of school committees as to methods whereby they might best work towards this goal and were urged "not to disturb the present system of education, which is the result of the wisdom and experience of the past and bears so large a part in the moulding of our republican life." The Association organized itself into committees to develop various projects, a committee on Intellectual Education headed by Mrs. Pierce and another committee to raise scholarships for worthy but needy candidates to enable them to study in normal schools.

The Intellectual Committee found general agreement among educators that there was a real "need for a higher school for girls than we have at present" and then propounded a scheme by which girls should go through a course of study in some degree equivalent to that of Har-

¹⁰ For short article on this, cf. Mary Coes: "History of Harvard Examinations for Women," in *Harvard Graduates Magazine*, September, 1897, pp. 67-68.

¹¹ Cf. First Annual Report, Woman's Education Association, pp. 6-9.

vard College.¹² But when they inquired of President Eliot whether the University would confer degrees on women who should pass all the examinations required of men for the said degrees, the Harvard Corporation instructed him to reply that "a certain amount of residence at the University is an essential condition of receiving any degrees from Harvard and that the University does not propose to give its degrees to women."¹³ Mrs. Pierce in her annual report, however, merely stated that "this proved so large an undertaking that the Association was unwilling to incur responsibility for it."¹⁴ The Committee then switched to a suggestion made by Dr. Samuel Eliot that they might emulate the University examinations for women, established by Cambridge University in England,¹⁵ and asked Harvard whether it would follow suit. The Corporation appointed Mr. Putnam and Mr. Bigelow to serve with President Eliot as a committee to confer with the Intellectual Committee of the Woman's Education Association.¹⁶

After considerable negotiations, we find the following vote, "Whereas an association known as the Woman's Education Association, has requested the President and Fellows of Harvard College to establish and conduct stated examinations for young women in Boston, and in such other places as may hereinafter be designated for the purpose, and has undertaken through a responsible committee to meet all the expenses and do all the work connected with such examinations, except the actual preparation of the questions, and the examination of the work done by the persons examined.

"Voted, that it is expedient to establish and conduct annual local examinations for young women, provided that the function of the University be limited to the preparation of the questions, the examination of the work of the candidates, and the granting of certificates to those who pass the examinations."¹⁷

Much time was required to work out the details of the project and nearly a year elapsed before the announcement in May, 1873, of the "Harvard Examinations for Women." The committee sent the pamphlet far and wide to all high school teachers in Massachusetts and to the prin-

¹² This same proposition came up in the negotiations for the founding of Barnard.

¹³ Harvard Corporation Records, March 25, 1872.

¹⁴ W.E.A., First Annual Report, p. 9.

¹⁵ Cf. pamphlet on *Merton Hall and the Cambridge Lectures for Women*, written by Miss Anne J. Clough, principal, October 22, 1873. Found among clippings of Arthur Gilman in the Radcliffe Archives.

¹⁶ Corporation Records, April 8, 1872.

¹⁷ Corporation Minutes, August 7, 1872. The Board of Overseers concurred in this vote. Oct. 9, 1872.

cipals of the best-known academies and girls' schools throughout New England. The plan rested on the underlying philosophy that by thus testing the actual instruction given to girls an objective standard could be established by which schools and students might evaluate their work. This is not dissimilar to one function of the College Entrance Examination Board today. The committee realized that a big problem was involved in raising the standard of teachers. They pointed out that of some 120,000 women teachers in the United States fewer than 10,000 had graduated from a normal school. This situation was partly explained by the fact that at that time eighty out of one hundred women married, and consequently the average length of a woman's employment as a teacher in Massachusetts was only four years. This deterred many from spending four years in college at a cost of \$2500 in preparation for so short a professional life, in which the teacher could earn on an average only \$800 per year.¹⁸

Two grades of examination were offered: (1) a preliminary general examination for girls at least seventeen years old in a large choice of subjects — English, French, German, Latin, Greek; in Mathematics, algebra through quadratics and plane geometry; in elementary physics or botany for the sciences; and in history; (2) an advanced examination for girls not less than eighteen years old.¹⁹ None of these examinations were to be identical with those for entrance to Harvard or with any examination for resident students in the University. Although similar in grade to the average college entrance examination, the purpose was to give those girls who had been educated at home or in private schools an opportunity to test their progress by a strict, publicly recognized standard, and for high school graduates to set up a wider range of subjects than the ordinary public school included. The Advanced Examinations were not intended to be taken as a whole but as a test of special culture in one or more of five departments — languages, natural sciences, mathematics, history, philosophy — and were to be adapted for those who would probably have limited leisure for study, such as girls who had left school and were occupied with home cares or teachers engaged in their professional duties. In some cases book lists were drawn up and made available. The examina-

¹⁸ These statistics are given in W.E.A., Third Annual Report, p. 11.

¹⁹ A copy of this pamphlet announcing the Harvard Examinations for Women, 1875, is appended to W.E.A., Third Annual Report.

tions were to be given in Boston in June over a period of six days, 9-12 and 3-5 o'clock each day. The fee for the preliminary examinations was set at \$15 and for the advanced at \$10. The Woman's Education Association offered to help poor students to meet costs by remission of fees, loans, and free board and lodging. They also undertook to provide board and lodging in Boston at moderate cost for all whose homes were so distant that they could not return to them each evening. If candidates were under twenty-one, the application must be accompanied by written approval of parent or guardian. Certificates would be awarded to successful candidates in the following form:

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PRELIMINARY EXAMINATIONS FOR WOMEN

A— B— has passed [passed with distinction, passed with the highest distinction] the Preliminary Examinations held at —, on the — day of —, 187—, under the direction of the Faculty of Harvard College, and is entitled to proceed to the Advanced Examination.

President

Cambridge, June 187—

The Preliminary Examination includes English, French, Physical Geography, either Elementary Botany or Elementary Physics, Arithmetic, Algebra through quadratic equations, Plane Geometry, History, or any one of the three languages, German, Latin, and Greek.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ADVANCED EXAMINATION FOR WOMEN

A— B—, having duly passed the Preliminary Examination on the — of —, 187—, has been admitted to the Advanced Examination in the section [sections] of —, and has passed [passed with distinction, passed with the highest distinction] the prescribed examinations in —, held at —, under the direction of the Faculty of Harvard College, on the — of —, 187—.

President

Cambridge, June 187—.

The five sections of the Advanced Examination were as follows:

1. Languages — any two of English, French, German, Italian, Latin, Greek.
2. Natural Science — any two of Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology.
3. Mathematics — required, Solid Geometry, Algebra, Logarithms, and Plane Trigonometry, and any one of Analytic Geometry, Mechanics, Spherical Trigonometry, Astronomy.
4. History (varied from year to year). In 1877, either History of Continental Europe during the Reformation, 1517-1648 or English and American History from 1688 to the end of the 18th Century.
5. Philosophy — any of the following: Mental Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Political Economy.

The Harvard Archives contain a bluebook in which Professor Charles F. Dunbar, chairman of the Faculty Committee, wrote his report on the results of the first examinations, held at the home of Mrs. Charles G. Loring, 1 Mt. Vernon Place, Boston. They began on Wednesday, June 17th and were held 9-12 A.M., 3-5 P.M. each day, except Sunday, for six days, ending on the evening of Tuesday before Commencement. Members of the faculty were always in attendance to give out papers, to observe and direct progress, and to collect and remove written work at the end of each session. Seven brave candidates presented themselves for this grueling ordeal, far stiffer than any present college entrance examinations. Only two had prepared under an instructor. One was a teacher in an elementary school; three declared their intentions to teach. Four stated that they hoped to take the advanced examination in a later year. Professor Dunbar gives a detailed and most interesting description of each candidate and her record. Helen Cabot of Boston, eighteen years old, had attended Miss Clapp's school. Two, both nineteen, Elizabeth K. Goss and Evelyn Smalley, came from the Salem High School. Eugenia Homer of Roxbury, twenty years old, had attended both Roxbury High School and Mr. Hooper's School. Susan Mitchell Munroe of Cambridge, also twenty, was a graduate of the Cambridge High School and had prepared for this examination under Mr. Gale. Henrietta Pomeroy of Appleton,

Wisconsin, had studied under Professor Pomeroy of Washington University, St. Louis. Harriet Williams of Somerville, the oldest, twenty-one, taught in a primary school.

Although the schedule was terrific, the grading standards set up by the Committee do not seem too high. Professor Dunbar lists them carefully: (1) a minimum of 40 per cent in every subject, (2) an over-all average of 50 per cent on the entire examination as the minimum passing grade, (3) any candidate falling below the minimum in more than two subjects to be rejected, (4) action to be suspended on any candidate falling below the minimum in any subject but not rejected under (2) or (3) until she has repeated the examination. These were similar to the rules applied by the faculty to elective studies at Harvard, which allowed two conditions in twelve subjects. The candidates achieved the following results: four passed; two were conditioned with two failures each; one failed three subjects. None won distinction. In notifying the candidates of the results, the Committee gave no exact grades, but stated approximate success or deficiency.

Professor Dunbar then made several suggestions for 1875. He recommended that the closing date for applications be April 1 and that the time and place of examinations be announced by April 15. He urged especially that examinations be held earlier, towards the end of May, and that the place be shifted to Cambridge for the convenience of the faculty. The schedule of 1874 had been too stiff. In one instance the examiner had advised the candidate not to take the examination because she was physically unable. "In order to diminish the pressure of five hours of examination, which it will be observed is more than the faculty have generally thought advisable for young men, and is also continued for several days with only a single break," the Committee recommended that the number of hours be reduced and the examination period extended to cover about two weeks.

The plan grew. In 1877, examinations were held in four centers, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati as well as Cambridge, with twenty-four candidates presenting themselves.²⁰ Four of these were over thirty years of age and had long been teachers, nine were definitely fitting to be teachers, five were studying for their own improvement. The remainder

²⁰ W.E.A., Sixth Annual Report, pp. 6-7.

were younger but expected some day to enter the teaching profession. This proves the point that these examinations differed from college entrance tests both in purpose and selection of subjects, but were comparable as to standards. Although fifty-one candidates took the examinations in 1878, public interest in them thereafter rapidly diminished, with twenty-nine presenting themselves in 1879,²¹ and in 1880 only twenty-one. In the peak year, 1878, the results were good.²² For example, of twenty candidates in Philadelphia three received certificates in the advanced examination, one, distinction on the whole preliminary examination, seven, distinction on the first division of the preliminary. The Woman's Education Association felt that the experiment had proved its value.²³ One teacher in Kentucky wrote, "I may never present a candidate, but these Harvard papers shall be the means of elevating the standard in our school and aiding me in my efforts for the higher education of women." It is only fair to state, however, that from the very beginning the more radical protagonists of women's rights eager for coeducation in Harvard were sharply critical of this whole idea, which they called a "singularly unpromising project."²⁴ They sarcastically mocked that "all that Harvard can now do for the higher education of women is to be willing to certify that they have been able to obtain a good education elsewhere."²⁵

Because of the falling number of candidates, the Association felt obliged in 1880-81 to vote to continue the examinations under the original plan only until 1883 so as to give those who had started on the scheme a chance to complete the whole series but then to shift over to the regular matriculation examinations for Harvard College. In the meantime, beginning in June, 1881, candidates might take whichever set of examinations they preferred, the regular entrance tests for Harvard or the old style Harvard Examinations for Women. Another reason for this change was undoubtedly the founding of the Annex and the necessity of passing on the qualifications of applicants for admission. In April, 1879, Arthur Gilman wrote to the Woman's Education Association requesting permission to use the Harvard Examination papers in examining candidates

²¹ These included the first candidates for the Annex.

²² Seventh Annual Report, p. 7.

²³ Eighth Annual Report, p. 9.

²⁴ *Women's Journal*, July 26, 1873, p. 235.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1875, p. 115.

just in special subjects.²⁶ He also asked for "sympathy and cooperation of the Association." They enthusiastically voted to "cooperate in every way possible, as a very inadequate expression of the interest with which we regard the opening of this opportunity, at our own doors, for the best education of women."

Four years later, the Annual Report of the Woman's Education Association speaks of the significance of the Harvard Examinations, which was one of the first measures proposed by them.²⁷ "They proved entirely successful, and they opened the way for the Harvard Annex, which gives girls an opportunity for a full collegiate course." At the same time the Association had to face the fact of fewer and fewer candidates. To help them analyze the situation, the Committee sent questionnaires to one hundred former candidates for the examinations and to seven hundred public and private school teachers throughout the country. Of the 192 teachers who took the trouble to reply only 18 per cent approved. The others were indifferent, opposed, or found themselves unable to prepare candidates. The Committee therefore felt compelled to recommend that after June, 1884, the plan be discontinued. Since more opportunities were becoming available for the higher education of women, parents and teachers preferred to prepare girls for college rather than for a test which opened no new opportunities. The Committee regretfully concluded that this type of examination simply had not taken root and perhaps had been rendered unnecessary by the growth of women's colleges, which in itself was raising the standard of education for girls at the high school level.

Thus we see that in the first decade of Mr. Eliot's presidency Harvard showed no intention of admitting women to any of its professional schools or to candidacy for a Harvard degree. The University, however, recognized the problem of women's education and Harvard's responsibility to it by a readiness to experiment cautiously. Several plans were tried: the University Course, University Lectures, Harvard Examinations for Women, all directed to the underlying objective of preparing women to become better teachers. These were interesting ventures but proved ineffective answers to the problem of how best to tie women into a Harvard education. They did, however, develop a climate of opinion

²⁶ Eighth Annual Report, p. 7.

²⁷ Twelfth Annual Report, p. 5.

among the faculty and provide precedents for the final solution. "The idea was in the air."

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Gilman had no formal connection with Harvard, but they were residents of Cambridge with many friends in University circles, and they faced the practical family problem of the best education for their daughter Grace. A plan occurred to them. "Suppose I find a number of ladies wanting to get the same education that men have, and I tell them, 'I will arrange a course exactly the same that Harvard offers men, and get the Harvard professors to give the instruction.' " ²⁸

They discussed this proposal with their friends Professor and Mrs. Greenough. Mr. Greenough proved to be in a receptive frame of mind because he and other professors had recently accepted for informal private instruction a most able student, Abby Leach, who proved so brilliant and so appreciative of this opportunity to study under famous teachers that President Eliot and a goodly number of the Harvard faculty were willing to continue and enlarge the experiment — private collegiate instruction for women at any level which they were capable of maintaining, close to but not in the Harvard Yard, without University responsibility for supervision of the students or for financing or administering the project, or request for a Harvard degree. Here was the "safe, promising, and instructive experiment" which President Eliot sought in his inaugural speech. Here at last was the seed which fell into good ground, already prepared, and grew and brought forth a hundredfold.

²⁸ Arthur Gilman, *Private Records*, vol. 1, p. 1. (In the Radcliffe Archives.)

THE YWCA IN CAMBRIDGE

BY FRANCES COOPER-MARSHAL DONOVAN

Read October 25, 1955

IT is a great honor to represent the Cambridge YWCA at this meeting and to speak to you about its history. Many people in this room have helped to write this history; many others here tonight have helped to make that history possible by their generous interest and support. There is little, then, that I can add to your knowledge, but I hope that we can enjoy recalling the history of the YWCA in Cambridge as one enjoys the retelling of a familiar and well-loved story.

Although the YWCA was established in this city in 1891 and is therefore almost a newcomer in comparison with many other Cambridge organizations, the first YWCA was organized one hundred years ago in England. The development of our own association becomes more vivid when placed against the background of a world movement now entering upon its second century.

We might as well admit at once that the idea of a Christian fellowship was started first among young men. It is uncertain whether credit for the earliest groups should go to Germany, Switzerland, or England, for in all three countries young men came together for Bible study and fellowship at about the same time, during a period of vigorous growth of the evangelical churches. In England, however, the groups were less closely connected with the church or professional church leadership, and more permeated with the interdenominational character which has come to be considered basic to the Christian association idea. The growth of this activity for young men was so striking that it occurred to individuals here and there that young women, too, were in need of opportunities for recreation, instruction, and Christian companionship. This idea became articulate at about the same time in England and in Germany, but in the latter country the work was closely related to the state church. In England, the movement was more independent of church connection and was led more directly by women. There were two separate beginnings of what eventually became the YWCA — first, the Prayer Union, started

by Miss Emma Roberts in 1855 among her own friends "for their mutual benefit and for that of any young women in their respective spheres whom they might be enabled to influence for good," and, second, the General Female Training Institute, originally a home for nurses returning from the Crimean War, founded in the same year by the Honorable Mrs. Arthur Kinnaird. Miss Roberts' group compiled a list of recipients for their prayers in suitable categories, beginning with "Our Princesses and all who are in the glitter of fashionable life," continuing with "Daughters at home of the middle classes," and on down through all those who, by reason of economic or spiritual poverty they deemed to be most in need of help. Here are the two ideas which later became dominant in Christian Association thinking — concern with the needs of a complete cross section of women and an enterprising approach toward meeting those needs.

The influence of both organizations spread rapidly throughout England, and at an informal meeting in 1877 the two leaders decided to merge under the name of the Young Women's Christian Association, feminizing the title already used by young men. It was one of those exciting instances in history when an idea was sparked by dynamic leaders at an ideal moment. The years following the Crimean War, like other postwar periods with which we are all too familiar, were filled with change and unrest. The industrial revolution had transferred from the home to the factory many of the traditional occupations which had kept women firmly in their place at home. Now came strong pressure to work outside the home, not so much because opportunities for glamorous positions were opened to them as that there was not enough work within the home to take all of the time and labor of the large numbers of female relatives living there.

There is no clear line of connection between Christian Association work in England and the beginnings in America, but in February, 1858, a Prayer Union Circle was organized in New York, which met in a church lecture room for some months. Its first work was to hold religious meetings and to "labor for the temporal, moral, and spiritual welfare of self-supporting young women." The Young Ladies' Christian Association, as this Prayer Union came to be known, rented space on the top floor of a warehouse on University Place as a clubhouse for women wage-earners. This was the nucleus of the YWCA of New York. By choosing the more genteel term "lady," the New York group forfeited to Boston the right

to be called the oldest Young Women's Christian Association in the United States. On March 3, 1866, at the home of Mrs. Henry F. Durant in Boston, the same Mrs. Durant who with her husband founded Wellesley College a few years later, a constitution was adopted under the name which has become world renowned. Its stated object was the "temporal, moral, and religious welfare of young women who are dependent upon their own exertions for support."

In the decade following the organization of the Boston Association, twenty-eight new associations were formed in the United States. Such rapid growth in the number of members dramatized the variety of their needs. By the time the Cambridge Association was started, in 1891, the spirit of pioneering to help meet those needs was well established. It took a good deal of pioneer spirit even to start a new organization, for in many places there was strong opposition from church leadership to any Christian work which was not directly a part of the church program. In Boston it took seven years to overcome this opposition. Mrs. Mary S. Sims, from whose official histories I have drawn much of this material, says that the need for helping working girls was not recognized by Boston men, particularly by pastors of the Boston churches. Doubtless they saw a threat in enthusiasm and missionary zeal devoted to a rapidly growing organization outside their own sphere of influence. The Cambridge Association was more fortunate in this regard. I quote from the Report of the Clerk in the Second Annual Report, dated 1893: "We are not unmindful or unappreciative of the active sympathy of the gentlemen friends of the Association. These, with others who have nobly come to our aid, have been timely helpers, but they are not as yet sufficiently numerous to meet our necessities; but their spirit is abroad and we have only to wait as patiently as we can for the manifestation of other sons of God." Constancy of purpose and demonstrated accomplishment did win the confidence of business and professional men in Cambridge. They have been generous in financial support and in counsel. For many years now, the investments of the Association have been in the capable hands of a Board of Trustees of five men, serving with the Association's President and Treasurer.

In 1891, no such help was forthcoming, but on a hot summer day in June, a meeting was held in the Baptist Church in Central Square to organize the Cambridge YWCA.

The first quarters were at 639 Main Street, in a room over a drugstore, and during the first year the program consisted of a variety of classes — in music, physical culture, dressmaking, cooking, water-coloring, German, Bible study, and hygiene. The historian adds firmly, "There were weekly religious services as well." By early November, scarcely five months later, there were 530 members, twenty-six members in the Men's Auxiliary and nine Life Members, some of them men. Four years later, in 1895, a second room was rented, named the Hayward Parlor, in memory of a good friend of the Association, Miss Almira Hayward.

The records of those beginning years make extraordinary reading. The early workers present an unmistakable challenge to us of a later day as they set about tasks which, even at this distance, seem more difficult than ours. We can sympathize with the Clerk who said, in 1896, "It is a matter of regret that much of time and strength must needs be expended upon plans for increasing the YWCA exchequer, energy which otherwise might be directed immediately to our legitimate work." That the energy was forthcoming, however, is attested to by the round of lectures, birthday parties, souvenir books of Cambridge, and bazaars or "sales" as they were called, to raise money for the expanding organization. Those who worked for a YWCA book sale last spring in a driving rainstorm have the warmest fellow feeling for the Clerk who wrote in 1901: "The sale in December was held on a very stormy day, otherwise the record would have been broken. You may always count on the storm of the season for Sale Day. In spite of this, you will notice from the Treasurer's Report that the receipts came up to the liveliest expectations." The burden of raising the total budget was not lifted until 1938, when the Cambridge YWCA became a part of United Community Services. Although there have been some limitations on the Board of Directors, necessary in any coöperative project on such a scale, the addition of a red feather to the blue triangle has meant wider interpretation of the Association's work to all Cambridge citizens as well as the sharing of the financial burden. Even those stalwart pioneers of the '90's might have blanched at the prospect of raising the \$30,700 provided by the Community Fund last year.

The basic need for young women leaving home for work in the city, in the '90's, as it is today, was for a suitable, inexpensive place to live. The boarding home, or residence, as it was later called, was always the major feature of the Association program. The hopes of the Cambridge

group in this matter are expressed in the First Annual Report in 1892. The high point of the first year had been achieving a charter, and when this important document was placed in the hands of the Clerk she wrote: "We confess to the passing before us of bright visions of houses and lands, of stocks and bonds; and we could well nigh see in the dim distance the White Palace of Delight, rising from its foundations, the attractive home of a thousand girls, wooing them to its restfulness, its interest, and opportunities." In six years they had achieved their goal; not a home for a thousand girls, it is true, but a commodious home at 11 Temple Street, a property known as the Pray Estate. This location was chosen by the Board of Directors after due thought and discussion because of the genteel surroundings in Central Square. It was adjudged far too dangerous for the girls to walk through the Harvard Yard after dark. In 1902, two more houses, at 144 Austin Street and 7 Temple Street, were purchased. In 1905 the Wellington property at 5 Temple Street was purchased, so that a new administration building and a gymnasium could be built, and in that same year the leaders embarked upon the great adventure of raising \$80,000 for a new headquarters. They were especially anxious to add a swimming pool to their facilities, but since they were not successful in raising the total amount, this had to be given up. However, on November 18, 1911, a housewarming was held in the present building at 7 Temple Street. "So great was the crowd," says a newspaper account, "that only a small part of it was able to attend the exercises in Hannum Hall." By the 1940's, the need for expansion was again acute, and in 1952 a drive was launched for a health education wing, including a swimming pool. Again there were bright visions of houses and lands, and real estate, of stocks and bonds. The sum of \$238,000 was raised for the new wing, \$198,00 from foundations and from the public, \$40,000 from unrestricted funds of the Association. With these funds, the Board of Directors erected a modern unit, merging with the main building in an enlarged and modernized entrance hall, which now provides ample facilities for the gymnasium and a large room which can be divided into several smaller areas for club meetings. A costly item in the building was a new, badly needed heating system now adequate for the entire plant. Again the leaders had to forego a swimming pool, a much-needed facility for women in this area, but as soon as the new wing was dedicated, on September 28, 1954, gifts began to come in for the pool. So far, nearly \$500 has been received in un-

solicited gifts. This is a small beginning, but indicates the historic determination notable in the Association as far back as 1894 when the Clerk wrote, "Acting on the principle that 'every attainment is only a camp for the night,' no sooner is one industry compassed than we feel stirring within us the stimulus to the establishment of another."

The new wing is already proving its value to the community, for twice a week high-school youngsters fill the large room to capacity, dancing to juke-box music, talking, playing games, and, strange to relate, doing their homework. Gay surroundings, music, companionship fill a real need in 1955 as in 1891, but funds for supervision and maintenance permit opening the unit only two afternoons a week for this activity. The Canteen, as it is called, is a project sponsored jointly with the YMCA and includes a Saturday night dance for the older boys and girls. A dance for other groups every Friday evening is another joint project. An elected Council of young people is responsible for directing the activities of the Canteen and represents the finest leadership in high-school age groups in the City. The Council hopes to add interest groups as soon as funds can be found for leadership. The responsibility given to the Council managing Canteen affairs is reflected in the organization of all YWCA Clubs. It is this practice of participation, the sense of confidence which it imparts, which makes the YWCA acceptable to many people who might not otherwise join forces with a social agency.

As well as maintaining facilities for clubs and classes, the present building provides living accommodations for some forty-five girls. This residence is maintained for girls who need help as they begin their working lives or who are strangers in Cambridge. Only those who earn the comparatively modest salaries of beginners are eligible as permanent residents and may stay for two years. By that time a girl is presumed to have adjusted herself to her job, to be familiar with the city, perhaps to have had a raise in salary, and, therefore, except for some personal difficulty or emergency, to be able to establish herself elsewhere, making way for another youngster at her heels. Four rooms are reserved for transients. These may be travelers en route, mothers of college students coming for a visit or for some family emergency, patients coming to a near-by hospital, or, lately, women coming to Cambridge for two or three weeks for cancer treatment at the Radiation Laboratory at MIT, girls referred from another social agency, or someone brought by a policeman too kindly to

impose the penalty of a night at the station on a girl astray. For sixty years a home for girls has been the heart of the Association's work.

The great concern of the Board of Directors for providing housing facilities involved the raising of large sums of money, but did not interrupt the work for those who needed constructive activities rather than a home. New classes were added each year in response to the needs and wishes of the members. In the '90's and for some years thereafter, these classes reflected in large measure the need for more training for paid work, in contrast to the recreational and avocational groups of later years. Classes in millinery, dress-cutting, attendant nursing, shampooing, and manicuring were very popular. A Woman's Exchange was organized for the sale of handwork. In 1899 an employment office, mainly for domestic help, was opened, a service maintained by the Association for twenty-nine years, when the supply of domestic servants showed signs of disappearing. In 1926 the Cambridge Association became the first association to offer vocational guidance service, work continued until 1939.

Among the first classes offered by the Cambridge YWCA in the early days of 1891 was "physical culture," presumably such setting-up exercises as were possible while wearing the cumbersome clothing of that era, and when the space available measured ten feet by six. The kind of physical culture indulged in by young women has changed markedly in sixty years, along with the volume of clothing worn, but the Health Education Department has remained a vital part of the Association's work. In Cambridge as elsewhere, the Association has seized every opportunity for healthful exercise for its members, both through its own facilities and through social agency camps. Since 1944 a well-equipped, remodelled barn in Marshfield has been loaned to the Cambridge YWCA through the generosity of Mrs. C. H. Thurber. "The Red Barn" has welcomed teenagers, adult members, and mothers with young children for summer vacations, and has been an invaluable and highly prized addition to the facilities of the Association. In addition, day camp activities are carried on each summer at the building in Cambridge.

The current program of the Cambridge YWCA includes activities geared to the interest of juniors, teen-agers, and working girls, as did the first program of 1891. But in 1855, when Miss Robarts placed "young wives and mothers" on her list to be prayed for, she could hardly have imagined a day when labor-saving devices and a new pattern of living

would bring young women in that group to a YWCA building for companionship and recreation. She would be surprised, at least, to know that one Wives Club in the Cambridge Association has a nursery for its Wednesday morning meeting, and that another club meets on Thursday evenings when fathers can be at home to mind the children. There is no place at all on Miss Robarts' list for another group — if there had been, she would probably have called them "aged and infirm." The Senior Citizens are, indeed, over sixty, but not too aged and infirm to enjoy lectures, movies, craft lessons, to organize and direct bazaars at which they sell their handwork for special gifts for the Association, nor — bless their hearts! — to make regular visits to contemporaries in Cambridge institutions. During the Centennial Celebration, the Temple Players dramatized the history of the YWCA in an original play. In one scene, laid in London in 1855, a newspaper reporter asks Lady Kinnaird the question which may be in your minds too: "Young Women's Christian Association — what do you mean by young women?" "My dear sir, every woman alive is a young woman."

By the turn of the century, it became apparent that there was a further and still unmet need for recreation among girls and women living at home, but in poor and crowded neighborhoods. It was possible to secure a small building in the proper locality, the birthplace of Margaret Fuller, whose life had been dedicated to serving others. Margaret Fuller House was dedicated on the anniversary of her birthday, May 23, 1902. This was the first extension of the work of the Association beyond its own walls. Forty years later the house was given independent status as a Cambridge settlement house, and the legacies and funds contributed for its work were transferred to the new Board of Directors, which continues to maintain it as a service to Cambridge citizens. The practice of extension work is continued today with Cambridge YW leadership for high school girls in Arlington and Lexington, where no YWCA or substitute organization has been established.

The Cambridge Association has existed through two world wars, gearing its workers and its work to extra service in surgical-dressing and first-aid groups and parties for service men. It has coöperated in any way possible with other organizations in war service. The YWCA has always been a forward looking organization and has been willing to take leadership in the social relationships between men and women. Dancing in pub-

lic places was still somewhat questioned during the first World War, and the Cambridge YWCA was the first organization in this vicinity to sponsor dances under suitable supervision. The President of that day was wise enough to see that this great interest among her members could be given the status of acceptable, healthy activity under the right auspices. She herself put it in its proper place of social recreation as she, often on her father's arm, led off the waltz.

The responsibility involved in building a strong, useful local organization did not deter the Board of Directors from taking an active part also in national and international developments in YWCA affairs. By 1906 the steady increase of associations in the United States warranted the establishment of a national organization to state a common purpose and to initiate projects of mutual interest and benefit. The Board of Directors of the Cambridge Association decided not to affiliate with the National Board at that time because it was felt that the statement of the purpose should be broader and more inclusive. When by 1935 changes were made which expressed the nonsectarianism which had been the tradition and philosophy of the Cambridge Association, the affiliation was voted. Everyone is welcome to become a member of the YWCA, and the constituency of the Cambridge Association reflects in fair measure the constituency of the community. Members who wish to become electors, to take responsibility for direction of the Association by serving on the Board, are asked to sign the purpose. The devotions offered by a member of each group at the beginning of every meeting may be selections from the Episcopal Prayer Book, the works of Thomas à Kempis, or the works of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Each is completely acceptable as an expression of personal faith, of conviction that the work of the Association is deeply religious in its concern for the individual.

The Cambridge Association has taken leadership in other areas of national concern too. It was one of the first associations to develop a partnership of volunteer and staff workers so successful that it has not only been able to increase significantly the work accomplished in Cambridge, but has been a pattern for other associations. An allied area is that of personnel standards and practices. Pioneer work has been done in preparing work analyses, setting and maintaining standards of work, and evaluating performance on the job. The concern of the YWCA historically has been for the woman wage-earner; therefore it is considered

especially important that the best thought of the Association should be given to the wage-earners closest at hand.

The activity of local associations in national affairs is evidenced also by keen interest in legislation affecting women. As the associations have become more highly organized, committees on public affairs have taken special responsibility in this area, studying current and proposed legislation, reporting trends, and educating members in their role as citizens. This includes coöperation with other groups in the community, such as leagues of women voters, encouraging new voters to register, and helping to disseminate nonpartisan information. Another extension of interest beyond local boundaries is the cause of world fellowship. The committee responsible for raising funds to be used in the sixty-five countries where associations have been established takes care also to inform the membership of the needs and problems of women in other parts of the world. Direct evidence has been brought to Cambridge by native workers from foreign associations who come here on visits, made possible by such organizations as the Ford Foundation, to learn new techniques and methods. A Community Relations Committee under Cambridge YWCA auspices gives impetus to the analysis of interracial problems which, local in application, are worldwide in implication.

The variety and scope of all these undertakings are made possible by the willingness of YWCA leaders to adapt techniques and activities to meet changing needs. Each local association is related directly to the needs of its community, although the purpose and philosophy remain constant. This enterprising approach to community developments and the constant practice of democratic methods are the special contribution of the YWCA wherever it is established.

To summarize the story of the YWCA in Cambridge, I should like to tell you about one of the sessions of the Centennial Celebration held in New York last April. It was a World Fellowship Meeting, at which delegates from all over the world described the work of the YWCA in their own countries, where much of the work is perforce supported by the National Association of the United States. The YWCA in Korea has been especially concerned with the situation of war widows and their families. What would these women put first of all their needs? Who would know better than other women that it would be a chance for their children? So YWCA funds in Korea have been used in large part for

milk stations and for schools for children made fatherless by the war. The Korean delegate had brought with her a gift for every one of the 3,300 delegates to the convention, an individual gift made by war widows in Korea — the little knot of colored silks which I am weaving tonight. The message with the gift was: "This gay Norigay [decoration] brings affectionate greetings from the YWCA of Korea." *Here* is the history of the YWCA, in Cambridge and across the world — the response of women to the needs of women; gifts, tangible and intangible, made with understanding, with no hint of patronage, which can therefore be accepted with dignity and with affection. This little Norigay is a fitting symbol of the history of the YWCA's first century of service — our promise for the next.

THE HARVARD DIVINITY SCHOOL AS I HAVE KNOWN IT¹

BY HENRY WILDER FOOTE

Read January 24, 1956

FOR the remote origins of theological education at Harvard we must look back to a far earlier period than that in which the Divinity School took on recognizable form about 140 years ago. The Puritans who reached Massachusetts Bay in June, 1630, voted in their General Court only a little more than six years later, on October 28, 1636, the sum of £400 to establish a college. In the famous words of *New England's First Fruits* their purpose was "to advance Learning and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust."

Strictly speaking, therefore, John Harvard was not the founder of the college, for this money from the public funds had been voted some five months before he sailed from England. But, except to order that a site for the college be laid out in New Towne (which was soon renamed Cambridge), no further action had been taken before Harvard died at Charlestown on September 14, 1638, about fifteen months after his arrival here. On his deathbed he bequeathed to the proposed institution all his books, some four hundred in number, and half his estate. The amount of money is supposed to have been about twice the sum voted by the General Court, but the precious nucleus of a well-selected library, in which standard works on theology predominated, was quite as potent an influence in securing the survival of the tender seed which the court had planted. Six months later the Court gratefully voted that the college should be named for him. History provides no parallel instance in which

¹ Most of the material in this sketch has long been common property, but I have drawn upon S. E. Morison's *Three Centuries of Harvard* (cited as Morison) and upon *The Harvard Divinity School* (cited as *H.D.S.*), edited by George H. Williams, for accuracy in details and for occasional quotations.

a young man, devoted to learning and generous in spirit but with no recorded achievements to his credit beyond his acquisition of an education, has purchased at so low a price world-wide fame as a benefactor of learning, far beyond anything which he or his contemporaries could have imagined.

But the choice of his name was fitting both because his bequest did make him a co-founder of the college and provided the stimulus to proceed promptly with an enterprise which otherwise might have languished or altogether failed, and because he could well stand as the representative of that remarkable group of university graduates who, between 1630 and 1640, emigrated from England to Massachusetts Bay to serve as ministers of the churches which were gathered as rapidly as new townships were laid out. Of these ministers 83 were Cambridge men and 26 were from Oxford.² All graduated between 1580 and 1638, most of them in the sixteen-twenties. Some of them would have been outstanding persons in any period or place; the average of character and intellectual attainment was high; and few communities anywhere have had ministerial leadership of as fine quality.

That they were learned men there is no question. When the preparation of a more "close-fitting" version of the Psalms than that of Sternhold and Hopkins was undertaken — which resulted in the publication in 1640 of *The Bay Psalm Book*, the first book to be printed in the British colonies in America — thirty ministers were invited to submit metrical translations direct from the Hebrew. As a matter of fact, few if any of them did so, and the work was done by three men — Richard Mather of Dorchester and Thomas Welde and John Eliot of Roxbury — but I doubt if there are even three parish ministers in all New England today who know enough Hebrew to venture to make their own metrical translations from that language. And two generations later the Reverend Simon Bradstreet of Charlestown is reported to have been humorously presented by Lieutenant Governor Dummer to Governor Burnet as a minister so learned that he could whistle in Greek.

It was the weighty influence of these university graduates, especially of the Cambridge men, which initiated the movement to found the college and which in some degree determined the character it was to develop.

² Albert Matthews, *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 25, pp. 14-23. Cf. S. E. Morison, *English University Men who emigrated to New England before 1646*.

Cambridge University in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a far more open-minded and progressive place than was conservative Oxford. In the sixteenth century it had welcomed the Continental scholars who introduced into England the "new learning" of the Renaissance period, including the study of Greek, and in the seventeenth century it was famous for its notable group of broad-minded philosophers and theologians known as the Cambridge Platonists, two of whom had been Harvard's fellow-students at Emmanuel College. Cambridge was a center of activity for the reforming party in church and state both before and after the accession of Elizabeth, and of the resultant Puritan movement which was strongest in East Anglia. Emmanuel College had been founded in 1584 as an avowedly Puritan institution. Twenty-six ministers educated there, including John Harvard, came to New England.

Of course these Puritans were Calvinists, as all English Protestants then were in varying degree, but, being bold and zealous reformers, they were aware of the necessity of adapting their doctrines to meet the challenge of changing conditions. Consequently, as Dr. Conrad Wright has pointed out, basing his statement on Professor Perry Miller's researches, "Even the doctrine of the first settlers was not strict Calvinism. The Massachusetts Bay Puritans belonged to the 'Covenant' or 'Federal' school of the Reformed theology, which had considerably modified the teachings of Calvin before they were transplanted to the new world."³ I like to believe that it was these Cambridge graduates, nurtured in the traditional disciplines the roots of which ran back to the early Middle Ages, but with subtle and inquiring minds as they encountered new problems and ways of life, who planted in their little college here the seed of that spirit of free inquiry into truth which has generally been its prevailing characteristic.

Although in *New England's First Fruits* the emphasis is laid on the dread of "an illiterate Ministry," the need for educated leaders in other lines of community life was recognized from the beginning. In the first eighty years a few more than half the graduates from Harvard went into the ministry, but thereafter the percentage steadily declined. By 1800 less than 20 per cent did so, and nowadays the number is only a small fraction of 1 per cent.

³ Conrad Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America*, p. 15. Reference to Perry Miller, *The New England Mind*, pp. 365-397.

In the early years the curriculum for all students was that of the English universities of the period except that Hebrew was introduced as a requirement. Besides Hebrew and Greek, the ability to read, write, and speak Latin was essential, since that was the universal language of the educated European world. But students were also drilled in geometry, the astronomy of the period, philosophy, theology, logic, and rhetoric. Thomas Hollis of London early in the eighteenth century gave the college a fine telescope, which was well used in starting astronomical research here. In 1721 the same benefactor endowed the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, stipulating "that none be refused [appointment] on account of his belief and practice of adult baptism," and in 1727 he gave the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the latter words meaning what we call experimental science. Fortunately John Leverett, a progressive layman and the greatest president of Harvard before Eliot, and his successor, Benjamin Wadsworth, were able to appoint scholarly and enlightened men to these chairs. There was no longer any danger that the college would remain shackled to the reactionary policy of Increase Mather, who would have held it to the out-dated Calvinism of the preceding century.⁴

Throughout the eighteenth century substantially the same course of study was provided for all undergraduates, except that Hebrew was dropped in the middle of the century for all but men looking towards the ministry. At that period there was no professional school in which aspirants for the ministry could pursue their studies. They generally remained for a year after graduation for further reading under the guidance of the Hollis Professor of Divinity and then often went to live for a year or two with some settled minister to serve an apprenticeship in pastoral care and preaching before ordination and settlement in a parish of their own. Some ministers were noted for their skill in such instruction and had two or three, or even more, young graduates living with them at a time, an arrangement which must have added no little to the burdens of the minister's wife. Before the establishment at Harvard of professional schools in medicine, 1782, and law, 1817, a similar system of apprenticeship was followed by college graduates headed for careers in those fields. The youth who wanted to be a physician generally lived in a doctor's

⁴ Morison, pp. 44-75.

house and accompanied him on his rounds, observing his instructor's methods. The would-be lawyer took a job as clerk in the office of the foremost lawyer who would accept him, read the law books he found there, and was instructed how to prepare and present cases.

That this method of theological education was adequate for the time and place is evidenced by the generally good quality of the native-born New England ministers graduated from Harvard in the seventeenth century and from Harvard and Yale in the eighteenth century. They were much more numerous in proportion to the population, and far more influential, than the clergy of the established Anglican Church in Virginia and other Southern colonies. They were prolific authors of books and pamphlets, and some of them were men of outstanding ability who throughout the eighteenth century waged battles of advancing thought against the entrenched theology of the conservatives. These controversies concerned intellectual issues now as dead as those of medieval scholasticism, but they bear witness to the thorough training and dialectical skill of the leaders. By contrast the clergy in the South stood on a far lower level of character and ability. Very few native-born Southerners went into the ministry because of lack of educational opportunity and because in any case they had to go to England for ordination by a bishop. Consequently, almost all the clergy in the South were men sent out from England, as was the case with the youthful John and Charles Wesley, but the Wesley brothers found their missionary zeal arbitrarily hampered and soon returned to England in disgust. Probably most of those who came did so because they were poorly qualified for preferment at home, whereas in the colonies they had an assured, if rather meagre, living, and little disciplinary oversight if they did not too grossly overstep conventional standards of conduct.⁵ I have never heard of any who risked the intellectual hazards of writing a book and the only clergyman of lasting distinction in colonial Virginia was Dr. James Blair, sent to Williamsburg as commissary for the Bishop of London, who established William and Mary College in 1692.

Until the opening decades of the nineteenth century there was little change in the method which I have been describing of training Harvard graduates for the ministry. You may have noted that I began this paper by saying that the Divinity School took on recognizable form about 140

⁵ William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, pp. 14-19.

years ago. I put it that way because it was not "founded" as a professional school by a specific act on an unquestioned date. Instead it gradually emerged from the practices which had prevailed for nearly two centuries. Let me now trace the steps of that emergence.

Shortly before 1805 both the presidency and the Hollis Professorship of Divinity had been vacated by the death of their occupants. A vociferous struggle over candidates for these posts ensued between the orthodox wing of the Congregational churches and the liberal wing which was verging towards Unitarianism. In 1805 the liberal Reverend Henry Ware, Sr., was appointed Hollis Professor, and in 1806 the Reverend Samuel Webber, who had been Hollis Professor of Mathematics and who was regarded as a moderate liberal, was elected president. Thus the liberal tradition in the college, which had characterized it since the resignation of Increase Mather, was confirmed and perpetuated.

The response of the orthodox party was the establishment at Andover in 1808 of the first professional theological school in New England, if not the first in the country. In their attempt to ensure its fidelity to Calvinist doctrine the founders composed the Andover Creed, one of the most involved and rigid formulations of belief in Christian history, stipulating that "every article of the above-said creed shall remain entirely and identically the same without the least alteration, or any addition, or diminution." Every student on admission had to assent to it, and every professor had not only to subscribe to it publicly on his appointment, but also had to make a public statement every five years thereafter in which he promised to "maintain and inculcate the Christian faith . . . in opposition not only to Atheists and Infidels, but to Jews, Papists, Mohammedans, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Sabellians, Unitarians, and Universalists."⁶ It was the duty of the Trustees to watch the professors, presumably to make sure that none of them ever got any new ideas, and by way of further precaution a Board of Visitors was set up with power to hold the Trustees to their duty. The example set in Andover fixed a pattern which was soon followed in modified forms by other denominations which established seminaries where candidates for their ministries could be safely indoctrinated in the beliefs and practices held essential in each denomination.

The founding of Andover Seminary was the catalyst which caused

⁶ *H.D.S.*, p. 194.

the factors which had existed at Harvard from the beginning to crystallize into a planned program of theological education. The first steps in this development are pictured in the letters of Samuel Gilman of the class of 1811, who is now best remembered as the author of "Fair Harvard," written twenty-five years later for the two-hundredth anniversary of the college. In the summer of 1811 he became engaged to Catherine Howard, who sailed from Boston the following October to spend the winter in Savannah. It was more than a month before he heard of the ship's safe arrival and two months before he received her first letter, but each week throughout the winter he wrote her a detailed story of his doings. These letters, now in Widener Library, give an authentic account of the activities of a resident graduate preparing for the ministry.

Until this year, as already noted, the resident graduate had been left pretty much to his own devices for further acquisition of learning, except that he studied the Greek Testament with the Hollis Professor of Divinity. But when Gilman belatedly returned to Cambridge in November, 1811, he discovered that "new regulations of study" had been "adopted by the graduates," which consisted "in having stated exercises, when we all go before some officer of the college." Presumably these "regulations" had been proposed by, and certainly they had the approval of President John Kirkland, a genial and enlightened man who had been a successful minister in Boston before his election in 1810, and who was deeply concerned to improve theological education.

Gilman continues: "Every Sunday evening [we attend] the President. Some topick in theology is given out, the previous Sunday for investigation and reflection. Doddridge's *Lectures* is made the text-book. The president questions us on this topick, and after he has gone through our circle, he hears our voluntary promiscuous remarks, interspersing in the mean while his own most excellent observations. . . . Our subject at the President's this evening [November 10] was on the Moral Government of God. . . . Every Friday evening, we attend the Prof. of Divinity [Henry Ware, Sr.] in Biblical criticism. Our subject is generally a chapter in the Greek testament, where we comment on the disputed passages; try to resolve ambiguous words; show the force of particles, etc., etc. On Monday, at 3 o'clock, P.M., we recite Hebrew to Mr. Willard."

On November 20 he writes: "Dined at the President's today, in company with professors Hedge, Willard, Farrar, & Ware jur. tutor Sanger,

and Sir Everett. Did you know that all the B.A.'s are called Sir?" "Sir Everett" was his classmate Edward Everett, who reappears a little later in Gilman's amusing account of the introduction of instruction in preaching and conduct of worship. On December 11 he wrote: "Initiated this evening into a theological society, composed of graduates and officers of College. The exercises are, a prayer, sermon, critical dissertation, and concluding prayer. After each performance, the members indulge in the most free and scrutinizing remarks. The discourse this evening was pronounced by brother Everett. It was on heaven; and written in a masterly manner. . . . His design was, to demonstrate that heaven is a place of security. . . . Being young, and rather inclined to bold, paradoxical assertions, he was somewhat imprudent as it respected . . . the doctrine of fallen angels, who it seems did not find absolute security even in heaven. . . . Here he declined into heterodoxy, and almost degenerated into heresy. . . . But his positions were afterwards ably refuted by brother English."⁷

The "regulations" thus described were the first step towards a systematic program of theological study. In 1813, Andrews Norton was appointed Dexter Lecturer on the Bible in the college and he and the soundly orthodox Reverend Abiel Holmes of the First Church, father of O. W. Holmes, were invited to lecture on the church history of New England. Both men were cautioned to avoid "inculcating a particular System upon the controverted points in Theology."⁸

Meanwhile the seminary at Andover was attracting flocks of students, and the liberals at Harvard saw the necessity of providing still better facilities for its graduates looking towards the ministry in their churches. President Kirkland issued in December, 1815, a call for money to assist meritorious students, to erect a building to house them, and to support new professorships. Nearly \$30,000 was soon raised, and in July, 1816, the donors organized the Society for Promoting Theological Education in Harvard University. Perhaps to emphasize their disapproval of the Andover Creed, they stipulated that "every encouragement be given to the serious, impartial, and unbiassed investigation of Christian truth, and that no assent to the peculiarities of any denomination of Christians shall

⁷ *H.D.S.*, pp. 62-63, and S. Gilman's ms. letters.

⁸ *H.D.S.*, p. 26.

be required either of the instructors or students." The School throughout its history has adhered to this basic principle.

The Corporation on October 18, 1816, passed a vote approving a plan of instruction in "the Theological Seminary of the University," and this is the date upon which in 1916 the hundredth anniversary of the Divinity School was observed. But it was not until "March 19, 1819, that the Corporation accepted a report which, for the first time spoke of a 'Faculty of Theology,' composed of the President and four professors."⁹ So you may decide for yourselves whether the emergence of the School to professional status took place in 1811 or 1816 or 1819.

The first faculty included Kirkland, Henry Ware, Sr., and Willard — all of whom divided their time between the college and the Divinity School — and Andrews Norton, who in 1819 was appointed Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature. Though few in number, they formed as able and distinguished a group as could be found in New England, and in due time others, including Charles Follen, the German refugee who taught church history; and Henry Ware, Jr., who taught preaching and pastoral care, were added to their number.

Norton was a man of letters writing on many subjects, including a number of hymns, but his masterpiece was his monumental work on *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, the earliest scholarly work on the New Testament by an American. Henry Ware, Jr. wrote a little book on *Extemporaneous Preaching*.¹⁰ When in 1914 I was appointed to teach homiletics in the school, I looked up available books on the subject, among them the volume *La Prédication*¹¹ by the French Protestant pulpit orator Coquerel. Coquerel drew most of his illustrations from the classic Greek and Roman orators, some from French preachers, a few from British sources, and had but one reference to an American work, Ware's *Extemporaneous Preaching*, which he praised highly. I had never heard of Ware's book but promptly drew it out of the library and found its practical advice as admirable as Coquerel had said. Ware, like Norton, was a hymn-writer, one of the earliest in that century-long succession of Harvard poets who have made a great contribution to the devotional life of America, of whom I shall speak presently.

⁹ H.D.S., p. 27.

¹⁰ H. Ware, Jr., *Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching*, 1824.

¹¹ A. L. C. Coquerel, *Observations pratiques sur la prédication*, 1860.

Although the Divinity School steadfastly adhered to its claim that it was undenominational and was committed only to an unfettered search for truth in religion, it was, throughout its first half-century, open to the oft-repeated criticism that it was in fact a denominational institution because only Unitarians were appointed to its faculty and all its students were preparing to serve Unitarian churches. This criticism fails to note that in the religious atmosphere of that period no orthodox scholar of repute could have accepted an appointment to a professorship in the School without being accused of disloyalty to his own communion, and that no pulpits in any other denomination were open to the young graduates, though some of them, after serving as ministers in Unitarian churches, did transfer their membership to another fold. The most notable but by no means the only case was that of F. D. Huntington, who graduated in 1842 and after serving in Unitarian pulpits for seventeen years, joined the Episcopal Church and eventually became a bishop. The School's claim to be undenominational was well grounded in the sense that no denominational organization ever attempted to control its curriculum or would have been permitted to do so, but its position was unique and misunderstood in a period when other seminaries everywhere had followed the Andover pattern and regarded theological education as primarily a matter of indoctrination in denominational belief and practice. As late as 1911 the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* in a list of ninety-two theological seminaries recorded only the Harvard Divinity School as undenominational.¹²

Throughout the nineteenth century the student body was small, sometimes very small. In the earlier years this was because openings to Unitarian pulpits were few, but two other factors have operated to limit the numbers. The first was the high academic standard generally, though not always, set for admission and for graduation, which shut out many applicants who often found acceptance elsewhere. The School's supporters still "dreaded an illiterate ministry," and may well do so today when only 25 per cent of the students in American seminaries are college graduates, and when evangelists totally ignorant of modern Biblical scholarship are acclaimed with rapture. The second factor was the high cost of tuition and living expenses, as contrasted with that of most other schools, which made the way easy for any respectable youth who could be induced to

¹² *H.D.S.*, p. 186, note.

enter. The School was, and probably still is, one of the most expensive places in the country, perhaps in the world, in which to obtain a theological education. As a result of these factors the student body has usually been a selected group with a high average of intellectual ability and character. It is recorded that "Of its graduates down through 1842, 22 per cent achieved sufficient distinction in later life to be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. No less than five of the nine members of the Class of 1836 are listed there."¹³

The period from 1850 to 1875 is usually regarded as that of the School's low water level. Theodore Parker wrote in 1853, with characteristic sarcasm about those who did not go all the way with him, "I was over at Cambridge the other day, and looked in at the Divinity School, and saw several of the *bodies* which were awaiting their turn. The operators were not in at the time, so I saw nothing of the *modus operandi*. The Egyptian embalmers took only seventy days, I think, to make a mummy out of a dead man. Unitarian embalmers use three years in making a mummy out of live men."¹⁴ Yet the foundations for Parker's own ministerial career had been laid in the Divinity School twenty years earlier, though even at that early date he had protested against "mummification," when, required to preach and pray for criticism by class and instructor, he began, "O Lord, we pray thee to bless these miserable spiritual gymnastics."

The injustice of Parker's sarcasm is indicated by two trends already manifest at the School, both of which he should have welcomed. The first was its early recognition of the importance of German scholarship in Biblical studies. Acquaintance with the work of leading New Testament scholars in Germany had begun as early as 1811 and, at the time of Parker's visit, G. R. Noyes, appointed Hancock Professor in 1840, and Convers Francis, Parkman Professor after 1842, had long been leaders in promulgating their findings, as was F. H. Hedge at a later date. It would have been hard to find better and more open-minded teachers in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The other trend found expression in the contribution to the religious life of the country made by the long succession of the School's graduates who were hymn-writers and hymn-book editors. This fountain of devo-

¹³ *H.D.S.*, p. 67.

¹⁴ *H.D.S.*, p. 127.

tional poetry began to flow in the first two decades of the century in the hymns of Norton and Ware and a few of their contemporaries, but in the middle period it gushed forth abundantly. In 1834 E. H. Sears wrote "Calm on the listening ear of night," the first of his two great Christmas hymns, and in 1846 Samuel Longfellow and Samuel Johnson, while still students in the School, compiled their first *Book of Hymns*, the earliest American collection to include Newman's "Lead, kindly Light," and to draw upon Whittier's poems for hymns. The custom of encouraging students to write hymns for their graduation exercises, then held on Visitation Day, resulted in the production of a surprising number of fine lyrics. To name only a few, in 1864 J. W. Chadwick wrote "Eternal Ruler of the ceaseless round"; in 1866 S. C. Beach wrote "Mysterious Presence, source of all"; in 1867 E. R. Sill wrote "Send down thy truth, O God." Although neither W. C. Gannett of the class of 1868 nor F. L. Hosmer of the class of 1869 wrote any hymns while students, both later made important contributions to American hymnody, Hosmer being now regarded as the greatest American hymn-writer of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of this one.¹⁵

It is not surprising that when the Congregational Pilgrim Press published the first edition of *The Pilgrim Hymnal*, in which the index of authors noted their church affiliations, it was soon discovered that 115 of the 547 hymns in the book were attributed to Unitarians, and that of 69 American authors 32 were Unitarians, who had contributed considerably more than half the hymns of American authorship. Almost all these Unitarian authors were Harvard graduates, a few — notably O. W. Holmes and S. F. Smith, from the college — but most of them from the Divinity School. A similar discovery had already been made by the English Congregationalist, Dr. W. Garrett Horder, a competent hymnologist, who had visited America in the last decade of the nineteenth century and had published in 1896 his *Treasury of American Sacred Song*, the first book to introduce much of his material to British readers. Writing to me at a later date he said, "Harvard, like our Cambridge, has been 'a nest of singing birds.' I was struck with this when editing [my book]. Harvard provided the bulk, and Yale almost nothing, of the verse I included."¹⁶ This succession of Harvard hymn-writers and hymn-

¹⁵ *H.D.S.*, pp. 156-77.

¹⁶ H. W. Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody*, p. 354.

book editors has continued over a full century and a quarter, and the high quality of the devotional lyrics with which they have enriched the religious life of America is a sufficient answer to those who suppose that the school from which they graduated was a coldly intellectual institution.

When in March, 1869, Charles W. Eliot was elected president, the need for a renovation of the School was obvious. He was a layman and a scientist, but his family had long been connected with King's Chapel, and though his intellectual outlook was radical, he was deeply religious by temperament. The Divinity faculty had lost Professors Noyes and Francis by death a few years earlier; the academic standards had dropped to a low level; and the student body was very small and unpromising. Similar conditions prevailed in the Law School and the Medical School, which for years had shuffled along with hardly more than nominal control by the President and Fellows, and Eliot promptly took vigorous steps to rehabilitate all three schools. Referring to the Divinity School, he wrote in his first Report, "there is reason to hope that [last year] the School touched bottom."¹⁷

The first task was to reinforce the faculty. In the fall of 1869 Charles Carroll Everett was appointed to the new Bussey Professorship of Theology, and he became dean in 1878. James Freeman Clarke, while remaining a parish minister in Boston, had given as early as 1854 what were probably the first lectures on comparative religion¹⁸ in any theological school, and he returned to give a course on the subject for several years in the eighteen-seventies. In 1872 Ezra Abbot, one of the foremost New Testament scholars of his day, joined the faculty. In 1878 additional endowment was raised, and Eliot proposed "the development of the Harvard Divinity School from a local school, undenominational in principle but in fact supported and used only by Unitarians, into a broad School of Scientific Theology and independent research."¹⁹

In pursuance of this policy Crawford H. Toy, whose acceptance of the views of German Old Testament scholars had brought about his resignation from the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, was in 1880 appointed Hancock Professor of Hebrew. In 1881 D. G. Lyon, also a Baptist, was appointed Hollis Professor of Divinity; Ephraim Emerton, a

¹⁷ *H.D.S.*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁸ This field is now called History of Religions.

¹⁹ *H.D.S.*, p. 168.

layman who had studied in Germany, was appointed to teach church history; and Francis G. Peabody, later dean, came to teach preaching, pastoral theology, and social ethics. Finally in 1883 the Trinitarian Congregationalist, Joseph Henry Thayer, one of the leading New Testament scholars of his time, resigned his professorship at Andover in protest against the creedal requirements and came to Harvard. In fourteen years Eliot had gathered a faculty of distinguished scholars and had made the School as undenominational in fact as it had always been in principle.

This broad-minded policy was continued through the opening decades of this century with the appointment of a Presbyterian (G. F. Moore), a Methodist (R. H. Pfeiffer), a clergyman of the Church of England (K. Lake), a Quaker (H. J. Cadbury), a man bred in the Jewish tradition (H. A. Wolfson), an Italian whose whole training had been in the Roman Catholic Church (G. LaPiana), and a Dutch Reformed citizen of the Netherlands, long resident in this country, who had come to view religion from the Humanist standpoint (J. A. C. Fagginger-Auer). All these men were scholars of the first rank who attracted increasing numbers of students, the enrollment rising to 128 in 1952, the year before Dean Sperry resigned. Perhaps the time may come when a Hindu philosopher like Radhakrishnan and a Buddhist scholar like Anesaki will be invited to lecture at the School.

When I entered the School as a student in the fall of 1899, the faculty included Dean Everett and Professors Toy, Lyon, Thayer, Peabody, Emerson, with Platner, Ropes and Edward Hale as its younger members, all of whom worked harmoniously together. It was tacitly understood that they were under no obligation in their teaching other than to present their topics impartially, as clearly and fully as their time and our capacities permitted, and to permit any pertinent questions on our part. We students never had the feeling that we were under pressure to conform to the opinions of our instructors, and the only instances which I recall in which questions pointing towards theological beliefs arose were in a New Testament course by Professor Ropes, when some of us Unitarians thought him unduly cautious in his interpretation of the text.

It was fortunate that I took Dean Everett's introductory course in theology in my first year, for he died the following autumn. He was a striking figure, rather short and thick-set, with round face and white side whiskers. It is an interesting commentary on the way in which two dis-

tinguished men may work for years in the same institution without becoming acquainted that C. E. Norton, living at Shady Hill only a quarter-mile distant from the Divinity School, on hearing of Everett's death, remarked with regret that he had never known him. Friends described Everett's looks and said that the two men must often have passed each other, but Norton could not recollect ever having seen him. As a lecturer Everett was lucid and persuasive, with an occasional touch of humor. He was usually accompanied by his little dog, Larry, who would lie down beside the desk on the platform and sleep through the lecture. One day Larry awoke about five minutes before the hour was up, rose on his front legs and yawned prodigiously. Of course the class tittered. Everett looked down affectionately at the dog, said, "Larry knows when it is time for me to stop talking," closed his lecture notes and dismissed us.

In my first year I took Professor Lyon's introductory course in Hebrew, being the only student in my class to do so, if my memory is correct. At the end of the year he quietly advised me not to continue the subject, and I gladly accepted his advice, and soon lost what little skill I had acquired in reading Hebrew. But I have never regretted the time spent, for it gave me a feeling that I could have gained in no other way for the Old Testament literature, especially for Hebrew poetry, so different from that of the Western world. It was Toy, however, who gave me a vivid sense of the reality of the Old Testament in his clear, calm exposition of the origin and meaning of its varied contents. He was one of the best teachers I ever had. Students behind his back referred to him as "the Plaything," but he made us work, and it was worth while.

I had been acquainted with Professor F. G. Peabody since my childhood and in my senior year at college had taken his course in social ethics commonly known as "Peabo's Drainage, Drunkenness and Divorce." In the school he taught pastoral care, preaching, and more advanced social ethics. He was a master in the art of preaching, and few sermons delivered in the college chapel since the days of Phillips Brooks have equaled his for felicity of phrasing and depth of religious insight. His course "Hom. 2" was carried on in the Appleton Chapel of the period, where we ascended the pulpit and delivered practice sermons for the often very free criticisms by the class and himself in the traditional manner. But he became more widely known for his teaching and writing about social ethics, where he exerted a great influence in awakening the churches of

this country to a realization that Christianity should be as concerned for grave social evils as for the salvation of individual souls.

Twenty-three men are recorded in the General Catalogue of the Divinity School as belonging to my class, that of 1902. Six of us took the B.D. degree, while several of the seventeen others who did not remain for the full course took an A.M. All but one of the twenty-three went into some form of ministerial work and were ordained, in most cases soon after leaving the School, in the following denominations: Unitarian 7, Episcopalian 4, Baptist 3, Trinitarian Congregational 2, Methodist 2, and one each in the Disciples, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Universalist folds. I do not recall any vehement theological disputes among them. We were content to let each man go the way that suited him best. My three best friends in the School were James E. Gregg, a Trinitarian Congregationalist; Frank Touret, who also entered as a Trinitarian Congregationalist but presently joined the Episcopal Church; and Charles F. Shaw, a Presbyterian, who, though registered in the college, had a room next to mine in Divinity Hall, and took some courses in the School. None of them stayed through the whole course; Gregg transferred to Yale, Touret to the Episcopal Theological School, Shaw to Union Seminary. I believe that they did not leave the Divinity School because dissatisfied with the instruction they were receiving, but only because it was advantageous to have their degrees from schools maintained by their respective denominations. All three remained my lifelong friends. Gregg served as a Congregational minister and for a decade as Principal of Hampton Institute. Touret became a bishop. Shaw had a long and creditable ministry in the Presbyterian Church.

I recall two other illustrations of the diversity of outlook in the student body. There was a brilliant but erratic youth, with strong high church leanings, in the Episcopal Theological School, who came over to the Divinity School for a course in the New Testament because, he frankly said, it was better than that in his own school, and who the next year transferred to the General Theological Seminary in New York because he found every sort of heresy rife in the Cambridge school. When, after the mid-year examinations, our New Testament blue-books were returned, I chanced to see that he had got an A, a better mark than mine, and that he had dated the examination as having been taken on "Feast of the B.V.M." Thus for the first time I learned that my own birthday fell

upon the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The other case was that of a rather raw youth from the West who had revolted against his fundamentalist upbringing and had become an aggressive left-wing Unitarian. Noting my conservative King's Chapel connection, he told me with some vigor that I had no right to call myself a Unitarian, in spite of the fact that most of my forebears for three generations had been recognized as such.

I took my degree in 1902, proud that I had been selected to speak a part at commencement and deeply grateful for having had the privilege of studying in what I still regard as one of the great schools of the period, with standards of scholarly attainment higher than those of any save a very few other theological seminaries in this country. It was nearly a decade before I returned to live in Cambridge, and in 1914 I was unexpectedly appointed Assistant Professor of Preaching and Pastoral Care, and Secretary of the Divinity Faculty.

In the interval since my graduation a momentous change had taken place in the removal of Andover Seminary to Cambridge and its affiliation with the Divinity School. As the nineteenth century drew towards its close the orthodox and the liberal wings of Congregationalism had come much closer together. With the death of the die-hards Andover's controversial creed had been shelved, but the seminary's isolation from a university center made it increasingly difficult to recruit either professors or students. After long negotiations with the Harvard Corporation the removal was accomplished in 1908, with the reluctant assent of the Andover Board of Visitors. Andover retained its status as an independent institution with its own trustees, endowment, faculty and building, but the libraries were combined to form the Andover-Harvard Theological Library, one of the greatest in the world. This affiliation, correctly described as "a gentlemen's agreement"²⁰ rather than a contract — which might have raised legal difficulties — doubled the resources for theological education open to students in the two schools and was a fitting climax to President Eliot's great vision of a first-rate theological institution integrated with the University and dedicated to the unfettered search for truth in the field of religion.

When I joined the Divinity Faculty this arrangement had been in successful operation for nearly eight years. The two faculties met sepa-

²⁰ *H.D.S.*, p. 193.

rately to discuss their particular affairs, and together, in complete harmony, to plan the program of courses, the maintenance of scholarly standards, and any common problems which arose. W. W. Fenn, who had followed Everett while I was still a student, was dean, but he greatly preferred his study to administrative tasks, so many of which he assigned to me that I might have been described as an assistant dean. G. F. Moore, who also had come to Cambridge from Andover in time for me to take a course under him in my senior year, was an intellectual giant towering above everyone else. Kirsopp Lake, an Anglican, who came to Harvard from Europe in 1914, once remarked to me that the only man he had ever known who was Moore's equal in great learning was F. C. Conybeare of England, but that Moore was his superior in the art of conveying his knowledge to others, and when Conybeare later gave some lectures here I quite agreed with Lake's opinion.

As World War I drew to a close President Horr of Newton Seminary proposed that a conference of representatives of theological seminaries in this country and Canada be held in Cambridge to discuss their common problems. President Lowell took up the suggestion, members of the Divinity Faculty formulated the plans, and invitations were issued by the University for a meeting in August, 1918. No previous gathering of the sort had ever been held, but forty-nine seminaries sent about 120 delegates belonging to fifteen denominations. I was deputed to ask Bishop Lawrence to conclude the meeting with a communion service in Appleton Chapel. He consented to do so, but said that he must act as a Fellow of Harvard College rather than as Bishop and must use the Episcopal form of communion service, though reduced to its simplest elements and omitting the creed. At the service Professor E. C. Moore and I acted as deacons to pass the bread and wine, of which almost every delegate partook except two or three from the General Theological Seminary in New York, who could not bring themselves to witness so gross a violation of canon law by one of their own bishops in his own diocese. As the delegates left Cambridge, the head of an important school in the Middle West remarked to me, "Such a gathering could have been held only at Harvard." The meeting resulted in the organization of what is now known as the American Association of Theological Schools and Colleges in the United States and Canada, which meets biennially. But when the next meeting was held in Princeton, whither I went a day in advance to

assist in arrangements, I was promptly taken in hand by a Princeton professor who told me that no such inclusive communion service could possibly be held in Princeton and that I must not raise the question of having one.

Courses in the Divinity School had long been open to students in the Episcopal Theological School who wished to take them. In 1915 more limited arrangements were made with the Methodist Boston University School of Theology and with the Baptist Newton Theological Institution (and in 1930 with the Universalist Tufts School of Religion) to give students in all these schools the opportunity of entering such courses in any of these institutions as they might wish to attend, and many of them came to the Divinity School. This coöperative enterprise in theological education has continued ever since.

A meeting of the Divinity Faculty was held in the spring of 1922. After the transaction of a small amount of routine business President Lowell read a paper outlining a revision of the affiliation with Andover, informing us that it was a matter entirely in the hands of the Corporation but that he wished us to know what was in prospect. The document began by confirming the "corporate independence and autonomy" of Andover Theological Seminary, but ended by absorbing Andover completely in what was to be called "The Theological School in Harvard University formed by the affiliation of the Harvard Divinity School and Andover Theological Seminary." This plan had been worked out by President Lowell and Professor Ropes in consultation with the Andover Trustees.

We were taken completely by surprise, for we had seen no occasion to alter the existing situation. There were a few questions, Dean Fenn asking whether the proposed plan would be held valid if challenged legally, to which Lowell replied that the Corporation's legal advisers had approved it. As soon as we left the building Fenn repeated his doubts to me, remarking that the same legal advisers a few years earlier had approved the plan by which Harvard was to share the Gordon McKay Fund with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a plan which the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court had invalidated as a breach of trust. The new arrangement, however, was speedily accepted by the Corporation and the Andover Trustees as promising a more efficient use of the combined endowments of the two schools; Fenn resigned as dean and Willard

Sperry was appointed to that position; and in the fall of 1922 the Divinity School opened as "The Theological School in Harvard University."

But already an ominous portent had arisen. Professor Ropes, who had graduated from Andover in 1893, had been elected a member of the Andover Board of Trustees in 1899. He had, therefore, taken part in formulating the original plan for the removal of Andover to Harvard in 1908, and knew that the consent of the Andover Board of Visitors had to be obtained before it could be put into effect. But when President Lowell and he prepared this revised plan of 1922 for uniting the two schools they failed to consult the long-dormant Board of Visitors, who knew nothing of the proceedings until the plan was announced in the press as having been accepted by the Harvard Corporation and the Andover Trustees. Lowell and Ropes could hardly have forgotten that the Board of Visitors still existed as a part of Andover's legal set-up, with power to hold the Trustees to the requirements of the seminary's charter, but the written record offers no explanation of their oversight. Presumably they believed that the Visitors would raise no objection to the new plan and would accept it as an improvement over the existing affiliation to which they had given assent in 1908. Instead the Visitors were alarmed and, after a few brief conferences, refused their consent and brought suit against the Andover Trustees to have the plan declared a breach of trust. The Harvard Corporation and the Andover Trustees were too deeply committed to withdraw the plan and the Trustees brought countersuit against the Visitors. The Andover Trustees had to draw upon the seminary's funds to pay the heavy legal expenses of both cases. These suits dragged on for more than three years, terminating in a decree of the Court in January, 1926, which upheld the Visitors' contention that, in spite of the lapse of years, the Andover professors were still obligated to conform to the long abandoned creed. That made it impossible to continue the affiliation.

This outcome, which a more prudent procedure could have avoided and which would never have taken place if the original plan of affiliation had been faithfully adhered to, was a misfortune for the Divinity School and a disaster for Andover. Every Andover professor resigned, and the Trustees suspended all instruction at the end of the academic year. But it was clearly impossible to maintain the weakened seminary as an independent institution under the conditions imposed by the Court's decree,

and, after five years of suspended animation, another decree was obtained greatly modifying the creedal requirements and permitting the Trustees to affiliate the seminary with Newton Theological Institution. Harvard purchased Andover Hall, and the combined library remained intact, for the cost of unscrambling the eggs would have been prodigious.

I had left the Divinity Faculty and returned to the parish ministry in 1924, before this disruption took place, and have only an outside view of later events. The Divinity School's endowment of less than \$700,000 had perhaps been adequate down to about 1900, and had been matched during the affiliation by Andover's endowment of about the same size. It was now quite inadequate to maintain its faculty, which had been increased by the inclusion of several of the former Andover professors, and to meet the rising costs of administration. It had to be supplemented by grants from University funds, which was against President Conant's policy, a revival of President Kirkland's, stated in his appeal for funds to establish the school, that "it is our rule here for every tub to stand on its own bottom." But Conant did not encourage any plans for raising a sufficient endowment, and although it had a more widely inclusive faculty of great distinction and a larger number of students than in any earlier period, the school was in practice treated like an unwanted child of the family, whose existence had to be recognized but who was grudgingly supported.

The movement towards a more adequate recognition of the School's importance began in 1945 when a visiting committee of the Overseers presented a report pointing out that Dean Sperry and several leading members of the faculty would soon become eligible for retirement, and that plans for the School's future should be carefully formulated. An interdenominational commission was appointed and in 1947 recommended that the School be maintained with a faculty increased to twenty-five members and supported by a greatly increased endowment. Though this plan was accepted, action in carrying it out was delayed until Dr. Pusey became president in 1953. The way was then clear for a reorganization of the faculty by the appointment of a number of distinguished scholars, with varied denominational attachments, to replace Dean Sperry and the retiring professors. As we all know, the new endowment of the School is approaching the desired goal of six million dollars.

The School has entered upon a new era in its history. But the abiding value of its principle of free inquiry into the problems of religion; of its

high standards of scholarship; and of its unsectarian spirit of interdenominational coöperation cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents, nor in the number of students whom it may attract. Its greatest service to the religious life of America will always come from its steadfast adherence to the motto adopted for Harvard College by the founders, the single word, *Veritas*, the *Truth*. As their contemporary John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers at Leyden, said, "Whatsoever truth is in the world, it is from God, by whatsoever hand it reacheth us." And Samuel Gilman was of the same spirit when he sang,

"Let not moss-covered error moor thee by its side
While the world on truth's current glides by."

Long may the Divinity School remain a place consecrated to the unfettered search for truth, in this new age when man's knowledge of the world in which he lives, and of the course of human history, is vastly greater than in the days of old.

FIRE IN CAMBRIDGE

BY SOUTHWORTH LANCASTER

Read April 24, 1956

FIRE may roughly be defined as the thing that results when combustible material comes in contact with a heat source in the presence of oxygen. Early Cambridge must have had its full share of fires for it contained plenty of oxygen, a wealth of combustible material, and an endless supply of heat sources, like open fireplaces and candles. In the kitchens, the fireplaces worked day and night, while those in other rooms had considerable use, for even in our genial climate there come days when extra warmth is not unwelcome.

But sometimes the fire on the hearth went out, and then its rekindling became a problem. Often the solution was to run over to a neighbor and borrow a scuttle of glowing embers. This job demanded a certain amount of care and was best handled by a grown-up, but sometimes it was easier just to send one of the children. Such practice was not always good. A high wind may scatter sparks and start a field fire that burns down the barn. The small boy may stub his toe and fall, or he may discover that a burning chunk of wood makes lovely fiery curves when tossed in the air, forgetting that when the burning chunk lands on a dry roof, trouble swiftly ensues.

There must have been many instances of this kind which were seriously disturbing to the villagers, for on October 3, 1636, the town fathers decreed that in future no child under ten should carry fire from one house to another, nor should any other person unless the fire were covered. To put a bite into this ordinance, they provided that the offender should be fined twelpence, half to go to the person who saw the offense and half to the constable who made the pinch.

Fire statistics were not accurately compiled in those days, and we do not know how much this ordinance reduced the number of blazes attributable to the transport of fire in the open, but we can fairly assume that early Cambridge was reasonably aware of the fire danger — what we should now call “fire-conscious” — and there is good reason to believe that the people were more fire-conscious than many of us in 1956. Here

is one Richard Withe who wants to build a barn, but he has a narrow piece of land and he doesn't want the barn too near his house because of the "fire danger." On April 4, 1649, the town allows him his margin of safety by permitting the barn to encroach upon the Common "about three or four foote."

On January 26, 1664, Francis Moore, Jr., desiring a piece of land in the "ox pasture" on the west side of his house for the preservation of his house and barn from danger of fire, is sold an acre of the pasture by the town for three pounds.

The germ of the zoning idea, from the safety standpoint, is in these two incidents, for if a building caught fire, the risk to adjoining structures was considerable. When a house did begin to burn in earnest, there was little to stop it, and as we should say today, the principal problem was to confine the fire and prevent its extension. Lightning, of course, was always a menace, and so was the hay in the barns. Hay or green fodder, if stored in a damp state, mildews and turns sour, so that livestock find it indigestible, if not outright repulsive. Therefore the good farmer carefully dried his hay in the fields before moving it to the hayloft against the winter's consumption. And his cattle flourished. But besides the corruption of mildew, wet hay by a chemical reaction generates heat, enough to start a little fire which quickly becomes a big one, and there goes your barn! This situation was not even suspected until about a hundred years ago, and we can't blame early Cambridge for missing it. Still, it would be interesting to learn whether some long-headed citizen ever noticed that the best farmers had the fewest barn fires.

As to the house itself, there was always danger from the candle or the lamp carelessly used, but a prime cause (and this is true even today) was the fireplace and chimney, especially in early years when hearth fires were constantly kept alive and soot-producing pine wood was a basic fuel. Sparks can leap from a crackling blaze, and that is why fire-guards were an early invention. But soot in the chimney has been another matter. Burning soot makes a very hot fire, and its hazard is three-fold. First, it damages the chimney and makes a subsequent fire more probable — especially if the chimney is of wood. Wooden chimneys were banned by the "Agreement" of March 28, 1631, and this was ratified by an ordinance a year later, but records do not show how well this was enforced, nor whether existing wooden chimneys had to be rebuilt.

Secondly, the sparks from the chimney fire which blow away can land on the roof, or on a neighbor's roof, and ignite dry shingles or thatch. Thatch was prohibited too by the 1631 agreement, but indications are that it remained a common roofing material. As any fireman can tell you, a roof fire is a mean one to handle. Third, a chimney on fire gets extremely hot, hot enough to kindle the beams and the woodwork past which it thrusts itself to reach the outer air, and then there is more trouble.

There were a great many chimney fires from 1630 on, for according to an official statement, dreadful experiences had brought great loss not only to particular persons but to the whole town. Therefore it was voted on October 9, 1650, that because of careless neglect of keeping chimneys clear, all were to be swept clean forthwith. The same ordinance, noting the want of ladders in time of need, decreed that each inhabitant shall keep one or more ladders in readiness at all times to reach up to the top of his house, on penalty of a fine of 2s 6d. John Russell was appointed to take notice of all violations and to summon negligent parties to answer for themselves at Town Meeting. Out of each fine levied, he received fourpence for his vigilance. This must have been a good job, and John Russell may have held it for as long as eighteen years; but times changed, and in 1668 the duty was turned over to the constables. Whether they inherited the fourpenny stipend is not of record.

It is worth while to point out that so far all the emphasis has been on fire *prevention* and, save only in the requirement of ladders, no great heed is paid to extinguishment. It would not have been unnatural to ordain, in addition to ladders, the keeping of some sort of water container always at hand, but there seems to have been no rule to cover this. Pails and buckets, of course, were standard equipment in all dwellings, and probably enough of these were usually available as "first aid" appliances, but this tied in with the matter of water supply, which except for those near the river was not copious. Thus prevention was the best defense. As we shall see, when means of conveying water were improved, attention became focused on extinguishment, so much so that the importance of prevention was not rediscovered until comparatively recent times.

This doesn't mean that there was no such thing as a fire engine. The concept of a machine that would throw water is as old as antiquity.

The difficulty was in making one which would work. The first American fire engine was merely a wooden tank on four wheels, with a simple pump which blew a stream out of a fixed nozzle something like the modern deck gun, those shiny brass things visible on the red wagons that today dash about our streets. From the shape of the pipe and nozzle, these machines were usually called "goose-necks." The term "hand tub" was generic and was applied to any type of hand engine, for tub was the proper word, and the problem of pump operation lay mostly in keeping the tub or tank full of water to insure a continuous stream. Originally this was done by passing full buckets in a human chain from some cistern or water source, with the last man pouring the bucket into the tank. The notion of a bucket brigade as a line of people passing along buckets to be spilled on the fire itself has foundation in fact, but it was a most ineffectual means of firefighting and could not be long kept up in the face of a real blaze. It was probably most useful in killing incipient fires started by sparks from the main conflagration.

The town probably had one or more engines by 1750, though there was no organized fire force, and certain landed proprietors had private apparatus for protecting their estates. Henry Vassall had one. The present state of the Vassall houses suggests he used it infrequently, and very likely he got tired of being waked in the night to loan it to frantic householders. Anyway, in 1755, he offered the engine to the town, and the town rejected it. Paige, the Cambridge historian, thinks this proves the existence of publicly owned machines, arguing that the town fathers hardly would have spurned the offer had they not already been supplied. Boston, he says, had seven engines in 1733, and surely Cambridge did not lag behind.

The first definite mention of a town engine is at the burning of Harvard Hall in January 1764. The engine seems to have done a good job, but the reference is casual and we are not sure just how it performed nor who manned it. Somewhere, in some forgotten account, lies the full story. All we know is that the town was growing. It had a college, churches, factories — manufactories, of course. Buildings were closer together and fire hazards multiplied. The need for some sort of fire force, as distinct from local ordinances about conduct, became apparent and the need was met in Cambridge in a pattern similar to that which developed throughout New England.

Generally this took the form of a fire society, privately organized for mutual assistance and protection, but these were not wholly indifferent to the misfortunes of nonmembers and often responded to distress calls from those who had no society affiliation. The usual equipment per member was two stout leathern buckets, a canvas sack, and a bed key. The latter two items were salvage appliances; the bag could be filled with movables from the threatened structure, while the bed key, a most important tool, could quickly dismantle the huge standard double bed of the period and permit its safe, if sectional, removal to the outer air. The buckets received the most attention, and that is probably why so many still survive. Their emblazoning with scrollwork, emblems, and the owner's name was more than just decoration. It had the very practical end of identifying the member's property. When the buckets went to work, anybody might be handling them, and the end of the job found them in a jumbled heap wherein, you may be sure, your own would be at the bottom. The cry would go forth, "Claim your buckets!" and the owners would then wait patiently while those detailed to the task performed the tedious work of sorting out the mess and seeing that each member received his own. Of course, a member might not have answered the alarm himself, for any number of good reasons, but if he could not go, he was supposed to place his buckets at his front door where the appointed persons could grab them up and run to the scene of the incident. Unless destroyed in the process of firefighting the buckets were pretty sure to come back to the rightful owner. Then they would be scrubbed down, rubbed with neatsfoot oil, and replaced on their hooks in the front hall ready for the next call.

Most of these societies sprang up in the twenty-year period whose midpoint is 1800. Two of the more prominent were the American Fire Society and the Franklin Fire Society, but the one set up in 1803 is generally regarded as the first fully organized Cambridge fire company. It was a private, rather than a municipal, undertaking, and it was daring and progressive enough to buy an engine of its own, at a cost of \$500, so that it possessed rolling equipment as well as the usual hand tools. There is some pretty poor reporting in the contemporary accounts, and professional curiosity about the capacity of the engine, the training of the crews, and the method of command at fires must await further research. It is fairly certain, however, that the successful operation

of the 1803 Society led in the course of some thirty short years to the first real Cambridge Fire Department.

In 1832, by Act of the General Court, the Fire Department was legally established. The town charter conferred no power to set up a true fire force, and legislative action was necessary. Governor Levi Lincoln signed the bill in March. Cambridge selectmen, moving with amazing rapidity, formally accepted the act in the following May, and forthwith appointed Luther Brooks as Chief Engineer in command of an outfit comprising four hand engines and a hand ladder truck. Each piece of apparatus had both a name and a number.

Cambridge 1 was located on Church Street. Under the stucco front of a business establishment in that street there will some day be rediscovered a granite sill, carved with the name and number of this company and representing all that remains of the first Fire Department. Union 2 was on Main Street, near Windsor, and running with it was Franklin Hook and Ladder 1. The present Engine 2 will be found not far away, in Lafayette Square; in fact, it is interesting to see how close these early houses came to modern locations. Niagara 3 was on Cambridge Street, near Third. If today you go down Third Street, near Cambridge, you will see the modern Engine 3. And so on. The catalog is too long to recite, but a fifth and sixth engine shortly appeared, together with a seventh, called "Hunneman 7," which was housed on Church Street but privately maintained for the protection of Ward 1. Hunneman 7 was subject to call by the city forces, at an agreed price of \$8 per hour. One year it made \$16.

A number of minor changes, which some day should be chronicled, took place in succeeding years. Washington 9, a hand tub, appears briefly in a location near Prison Point. The number eight apparently was never assigned. But Cambridge was growing and John Fiske, coming to the city in 1860, was appalled by the groups of closely-built houses, and felt that fire, once loosed, would have a free hand. Others must have felt the same. Looking for protection, they took a forward step in the combined introduction of steam and horses. The honor should have gone to Cambridge 1, but its house was deemed inadequate, and the first steamer was therefore assigned to Niagara 3 in 1862. Union 2 got its steamer the following year, and, the Church Street house now being altered, Cambridge 1 received the new contraption in '64. Lamen-

tations arose over the doom of the hand engines, but the horse-drawn steamers had come to stay.

Cambridge people marveled over their galloping dash through the shady streets, and none marveled more than John Holmes, brother of Wendell. Today he might be called a "spark." Certainly he belonged to the Fire Society, and so we find him writing to James Russell Lowell on June 30, 1869: "Frank Chapman's vehicular was set on fire at about 1, Sunday morning, May 30. [Francis Chapman manufactured carriages on Brattle Square, near Palmer Street.] When I got there [from Appian Way] one steamer was playing on a formidable mass of flame; it was some time before another came — there were three in all, I think — and they had the fire under in about an hour. [The steamer already at work was probably Cambridge 1, which had only a short dash down Palmer Street. The fire was listed as incendiary, with damage at \$13,000.] There were no hand engines, and in consequence no bellowing and counter-bellowing. It was curious to see the quiet of the whole proceeding. There was the fire serpent doing his best — drawing in a coil under the attack and rolling himself up as if done for, and then shooting out a tongue of flame in some new spot — then the engines going click, click, click, and that was all their noise — then there was the audience or spectance, which in the absence of the usual fire clamor was perfectly quiet — young men and maidens looking on as if at a show, and I think a man of moderate voice might have spoken a discourse so that all would have heard him. Such a scene is rather distant from . . . the 'friendly fire buckets' that you and I remember."

Yes, the good old days have passed, and John Holmes regrets them. But Frank Chapman might have disagreed, for though he was burned, he was not burned out, and he continued in business at the same location for some years more. Hand engines could not have saved him, nor would they have helped Fire Chief Eaton, who did not call upon them, though four were still on the roster and one, Hunneman 7, no farther away than Church Street. The day of the hand engine was really a short one, perhaps forty years as the main firefighting reliance of organized departments, and it passed as all things must pass which do not meet the needs of a growing community. Hand engines could deliver powerful streams, with the pumps worked up and down, up and down, by ten to twenty men according to the size of the machine, but ten

minutes at a normal pace was all that any man could stand and relays of crews were necessary for prolonged work. Chiefs had to watch not only the fire but the operation of the pumps, and orders for more water, more hose, anything the Chief wanted, were shouted through speaking trumpets so that all might hear. But the steamer could be left alone in charge of the engineer. The chiefs were then free to attend to the fire, standing close enough to the nozzle crews to permit the ready transmission of orders.

A direct, if not an immediate, result was an increased understanding of how fires behaved and how they might be controlled. It was a novel field, so novel and fascinating that it pushed aside the equally important matter of fire prevention, which was all but forgotten until well into the present century. But before we give all the credit to the steam fire engine, we might look at the device which made the steamer possible. That was workable hose. The first hose was of leather, made of strips stitched together like the leg of a boot. The stitching, however, was unreliable and apt to give way under pressure, and so it was not trustworthy. In 1808 some genius in Philadelphia found that copper rivets could replace stitching, and from then on hose became more useful. But it still had disadvantages, for leather can act in queer ways when it is wet. To prevent cracking, each length of hose, carefully dried after use, was treated, tediously, with a lubricant prescribed by the best authorities as a mixture of beef tallow and neatsfoot oil, applied warm. A cotton hose, sometimes rubber-lined, was invented, but this too had to be riveted, and its chief merit lay in the fact that it was easier to take care of.

Here Cambridge came into the picture. In 1870 there was displayed a new machine which could sew rubber-lined canvas into hose. It was the invention of Lyman Blake of Cambridge. Colonel Theodore A. Dodge, seeking useful employment after leaving the army, decided that this should be his field, and he forthwith bought the rights to the machine. Two years later James Gillespie found a way to make Blake's invention produce fabric in tubular form. With the colonel's backing he produced a hose that would work under fire conditions. After many disappointing experiments, a factory was set up on Portland Street, called the Boston Woven Hose and Rubber Company, and to help run it Colonel Dodge impressed a young mechanic named Robert Cowen. It

would be pleasant to say that the Cambridge Fire Department was the first customer. Certainly the first working test was given in Boston, but there was much resistance, all around, from old-line fire chiefs who had come up the hard way and who preferred to stick with the equipment they were used to, however defective. The struggles of the young company are a story in themselves, but with Cowen as the directing head, a happy ending can be written. Take a look, today, at any piece of Cambridge apparatus and see whose name is on the hose it carries.

But in whatever form, flexible hose solved the problem of getting water to the engine and from the engine to the fire. Another story lies here. Leather hose could be bent or coiled but it could not be laid flat, and so the first hose carriages were merely drums or reels round which the hose was wrapped. But cotton hose is best stowed flat, and thus the reels vanished and in their places came open-body wagons and that is what you see today. And even cotton hose may be going. With another bow to Portland Street we find nylon appearing — in the face of many crude jests about nylon hose for firemen.

Still another story lies in the water supply. We do not know what the future may bring, but in the present stage of the art and despite all the wonder chemicals you read about, water remains the firefighter's best friend. For our purposes, let's leave it that Cambridge has had, and will have for many years to come, a reserve of water adequate for all possible fires. Instead, let's go back to John Holmes and his nostalgic feelings about hand engines and friendly fire buckets. Their absence became permanent, for 1869 marked the retirement of all hand pumpers except Hydrant 4. A fourth steamer was added that year, assigned to the Daniel Webster company whose number was shortly changed from 5 to 4, the number still borne by the North Cambridge engine situated near Porter Square. This change in number marked also the end of Hydrant 4, which vanishes from the record after 1871.

In succeeding years a fifth and a sixth steamer were added, and in 1881 came a startling modern device called a chemical engine, donated by Harvard University complete with three horses and harness. This engine, despite its name, discharged plain water, which was forced through a small hose by carbonic acid gas. While these machines are now obsolete, they once were highly useful apparatus, and Harvard's gift remained in busy service until 1919. A seventh steamer appeared

in 1894, in the house on Main Street near Kendall Square, and again Harvard took a hand, presenting the new company with its hose wagon, a pair of horses, and the necessary horse equipment. Now there was a real fire department, adequate for the protection of the Cambridge of sixty years ago and possessing many of the technical devices which are still used, in more modern form, today.

One of these is the thing sometimes called "the little red box on the corner." The essential in firefighting is early and prompt notification of an emergency, and the best method is positive notice given directly to the Fire Department. In 1869 an electric fire alarm system was installed, with thirty street alarm boxes and a central office in the Church Street engine house. This was one of the first departments, if not the very first, to use a central office instead of connecting the boxes individually to the various fire houses. It is interesting that Cambridge so soon understood the importance of this method. The alarm system has kept up with the times, and though the bells and whistles which once gave notice throughout the city are no longer heard, swift, silent accurate signals still speed over inconspicuous wires or leap unseen on radio impulses.

A list of all the changes would be a long one. Suppose that we accept the fact that they have happened. Suppose we leave the past and come directly to the present-day department and try to explain how, with modern equipment and modern methods, it operates for your protection. Perhaps its most notable achievement, apart from the use of short-wave radio, is in the employment of water, where the problem is so to apply it to the fire that its application shall not do more harm than the fire itself. Wherever possible, Cambridge uses, first, the "booster" line, not much bigger than a garden hose and supplied by a miniature pump, and second, the device called "water fog," which by a special type of nozzle breaks up the stream into an intense mist and smothers a fire with the minimum of water damage. The skillful use of these appliances is one of the reasons why Cambridge has been remarkably free from serious fires. Another is that, partly by chance and partly by design, Cambridge engine houses are so located that in almost any situation an engine can be on the scene within two and one-half minutes from the time the alarm is received. The saying is that the first minutes will make or break a fire, and thus prompt response is vital. Of course

this may be nullified if there is not prompt discovery of the fire and prompt giving of the alarm. If the fire has a start, if the alarm is delayed while some excited person fumbles with the telephone dial, then there can be real trouble, and that is why experienced firefighters tell you to use the phone if you must but be sure that somebody is sent to pull the nearest street box, for the red box is infallible and corrects the mistakes of a confused or garbled phone call. And confused or garbled calls are more common than your might think.

Here is one James Brown who, walking home at night along Ashley Street, sees an unmistakable fire in a closed store. He looks about him — did he pass a fire box a short distance back? Yes, there it is, corner of Thompson Street. He runs back. He opens the little door in the front of the box and pulls down the black hook he sees protruding. The thing whirs and clicks, whirs and clicks, and subsides. Nothing seems to be happening. The box is silent. The street remains silent except for a muted sound coming from the threatened store. Has he done right? Then, distantly at first but ever louder, ever nearer, the sound of a siren. Something is happening. Help is coming.

The moment James Brown pulled the hook, swift action followed. James may not have known that the box had a number and that this number, click, click, click, was being registered electrically at the Fire Alarm Office. But the Fire Alarm Operators are ready. They check the clicks on the roll of endless tape on which each click is punched out. Quickly, but without hurry, they set up on the transmitter the box number, 3 - 2 - 4, press a switch, and ting, ting, ting, the same number taps out on the gongs of every fire house in the city. For some of these houses, the number means little, but for three engines and two ladder trucks it means a great deal, for each box calls out a predetermined response, and each man knows, by long habit become instinct, the numbers which call him into action. Down the long sliding-poles from the bunk-room drop the crews, silently, swiftly, like so many blue-shirted ghosts. The great doors fly open, motors spin, red lights flash on, and with a rush the big engines sweep over the doorsill. James Brown's simple motion has been transformed, within seconds, into red roaring action.

How does a firefighter feel when suddenly called out to dash through

night streets in response to an alarm? One officer has described his sensations in the following paragraphs:

I suppose that people on the streets hear the yowl of sirens and the roar of motors, see the men on the seats and on the footboards looking tense and alert, and grasp a sense of drama from our passage, but for me the drama, if there is any, lies all ahead. Getting the piece through the streets is the job of the driver, and I leave it all to him. I know that ever since I got my white shirt I have never taken much notice of the incidents of a run. A small part of my mind absorbs the turns and the swerves as we round a corner or dodge a bewildered motorist, but the rest of my attention is fixed ahead, on the situation we are hurrying to meet and the split-second decisions I must make when we meet it.

Is anything showing in the sky? It that red glare the light of our fire or just the reflection of a neon sign against the city haze? Can I pick up any clues from the flow of traffic, from jammed streets or thronging sightseers? I raise and lower my foot on the siren button and I am aware that a sound results in the proper cadence of rise and fall, but I am really thinking of the street we go in on and the hydrants there, and will the fire be where we can reach it with a short lay or will it be tough to get into?

That's the sensation. Now for the action!

The engine swings around from the avenue into Ashley Street, the hose wagon howling and rumbling at its heels. There is James Brown at the box. He points toward the scene of the fire. The engine rolls up a few yards to a hydrant. The captain jumps down and runs to the store. Up comes the hose wagon, a white thread of hose paying out from its rear. Two men swiftly connect the hose to the engine, another jumps down from the wagon, bearing the nozzle of the booster line, and pulls the booster hose from its basket. The store door is deftly forced, with curiously little damage to woodwork. The officer points to a rubbish fire in the rear. "Hit it with the booster." He goes back to the engine, picks up the radio phone.

"Engine 6 calling Fire Alarm."

"Fire Alarm answering Engine 6."

"Just a rubbish fire. We can handle it."

The Deputy Chief's car whirls up. The Deputy takes one look.

"Car 2 to Fire Alarm. Holding Engine 6. All other apparatus return to quarters. Send the all-out on box 324."

"Fire Alarm answering. You want the all-out on box 324. All apparatus except Engine 6 return to quarters. KCB 290 at 10.33 P.M."

All this may have taken as much as a minute and a half. No other pieces appear. They have received the radio message and merely turn around and go back to quarters. Engine 6 remains, making sure the fire is out and that no sparks have lodged in sensitive places. Sometimes the Deputy may hold a ladder truck as well, if he thinks walls need to be opened or overhauling done. But now it's all over. The Captain grasps the radio phone.

"Engine 6 to Fire Alarm. Returning to quarters."

And that is the routine story of seven out of every ten alarms in Cambridge, and it can be routine because of fast response and because of skill and know-how in doing the work. The other three alarms — well, they sometimes make different stories.

It is to take care of those three other fires that the whole complex organization has been set up in such detail. Nobody can know, when the call is first received, whether the fire is serious, and consequently the department must proceed on the theory that each alarm is a potential conflagration. The initial attacking force — what is called the "first alarm response" — must be powerful enough to strike a heavy, and if possible, a decisive blow at the blaze. Cambridge experience indicates that the minimum force should be three engines, with their hose wagons, two ladder trucks, and a rescue company. The plan of response — the so-called running card — provides for the nearest companies to move out as soon as the gong taps the box number and without further command.

Take, for example, box 647, at Craigie and Berkeley Streets. When this box number is transmitted, the automatic response calls for the apparatus from Taylor Square, Broadway, and Lexington Avenue; that is, Engine 8 and Ladder 4, Engine 1 and Ladder 1, and Engine 9. If all these pieces are not needed, they are dismissed. As we have seen, they sometimes are intercepted and ordered back to quarters by radio. If they are needed, they are on the spot to go into action at once, and so effectively that for the vast majority of fires no further help is required. In fact, for only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of all building fires is extra assistance called for, and this ratio has held remarkably steady over the past years. But if the first alarm detail is not enough, if more apparatus must be brought in — and this is usually evident to the Chief within the first two

or three minutes — then the summoning of additional strength is a simple matter.

The chief officer merely picks up his radio and requests a second alarm. Here again there is a predetermined response which will dash to the scene with no more notice than the gong signal, while other companies shift around, according to a fixed plan, to cover strategically located vacant stations and while Arlington, Belmont, Boston, and Somerville send apparatus, too, to fill other empty houses. Thus even with two thirds of the Cambridge protective force concentrated at the fire there will always be enough apparatus in readiness to deal with other incidents which may occur.

This business of getting help from adjoining cities, known as Mutual Aid, originated in the 1870's between Cambridge and Somerville and has extended through the Greater Boston area and has been extensively copied in other cities. Because it works two ways, Cambridge engines often go to neighboring communities in their time of need, but a posting of debits and credits is futile, for in emergency all boundaries disappear and the entire region becomes a single organism for combatting the Enemy Fire. Two recent episodes dramatize this.

In March of 1954 children playing with matches in Somerville set fire to a wooden fence, which ignited a shed, which in turn ignited a huge wooden structure housing a bottling plant. The first alarm brought the usual response, including Cambridge Engine 5, but this was not enough, and two, three, four alarms went out in quick succession, bringing sorely needed aid from all around. There were crackling flames, towering smoke clouds, panic-stricken residents, and desperately laboring firefighters. But because there were no dramatic rescues and no loss of life, the story of the fire is one of placing and shifting lines and those other tactical incidents interesting only to technicians. Three Cambridge engine companies and a ladder truck worked beside their comrades from Boston, Malden, and I don't know what other towns, and Cambridge firefighters were on the spot for some eighteen hours. One of the curious sights was a Somerville firehouse occupied under the Mutual Aid plan by a Boston ladder truck and a Cambridge Civil Defense engine. It is doubtful if such a combination could be duplicated elsewhere in the country.

Another incident, on a night some years earlier, caused some grum-

bling, afterwards, and one of the grumbles was to the effect that Cambridge could not deal with the fire and had to send all the way to Belmont for an engine. So it is well to see just what occurred.

Some time after eleven o'clock that night a serious fire broke out in North Cambridge, so serious that a general alarm was necessary, which is rather unusual in Cambridge. While all this was going on, and in the shuddery hours after midnight, a resident of a quiet neighborhood off Brattle Street happened, just happened, to glance out a window and see the house across the way in the grip of a roaring blaze. How long it had been burning nobody knows, but it could have been as much as ten or fifteen minutes. The wakeful resident reacted promptly. Painfully dialing the seven digits of the telephone number, he called Fire Alarm, and he was sufficiently clear-headed to make his message intelligible.

Fire Alarm followed the standard procedure for such calls, which is to despatch the nearest company by department telephone and at the same time transmit over alarm circuits the number of the nearest box, to call out the other apparatus. The nearest company was the one at Taylor Square, Engine 8. But Engine 8 was working at the North Cambridge fire, along with two-thirds of the Cambridge department, and a Belmont engine, under the Mutual Aid plan, was stationed at Taylor Square. That is why the Belmont engine was the first to arrive, and it arrived speedily and went to work competently. Other companies came rolling in, two of them Boston engines likewise covering Cambridge under Mutual Aid; and two Cambridge engines were detached from the other fire and rushed to the scene. The fire was stopped in its tracks. There was no delay by the firemen, no other houses suffered damage, and had this fire been discovered even ten minutes sooner, the whole outcome might have been different. The point is that even with Cambridge forces fully occupied with a major fire elsewhere, there is still a way to obtain immediate help and to hold losses to the lowest possible limit.

History is defined as a narrative of events, but too often we look at it as the narrative of past events, without regard for the need for recording the present. It is for the purpose of recording the present that I have risked the expenditure of your time in making a general outline of fire organization and procedure, for these things are found today only in technical publications and in the dry skeleton of official reports, so

that the later researcher may have trouble in discovering just how things were done.

What would we not give to know how the town engine worked at the Harvard Hall fire, or just how Chief Eaton's men comported themselves at the Chapman blaze! Why should we not now make some sort of record so that the researchers of 2056 might have at least a notion of how Cambridge handled the crude implements of the present century?

There is the matter of terminology. Out of past times we can get a few clues from the stilted language of official communications, but we cannot be quite sure what Chief Brooks' men or Chief Eaton's men said among themselves. We know, for example, that the term "steamer" is short for "steam fire engine," which was an official term to distinguish these engines from hand fire engines. We are pretty sure that, seventy years back, men used spanners to couple two lengths of hose together, just as they do today, but did they also use plaster hooks, or were these called pike poles? Probably they were just called hooks, for we still hear the obsolete expression "hook and ladder company." Why not, then, set down the modern lingo?

Fire apparatus, or just *apparatus*, is the collective term for rolling firefighting material. A single unit is a piece of apparatus, or more simply, a *piece*. You will hear an officer say, "Take the piece around the corner." An engine company, often organized with two units, has a *pumper* or *pump*, and a hose wagon, or the *wagon*. An engine is never a truck. *Truck* means a piece which carries ladders, that is, a *ladder truck*. If it has a long ladder, permanently attached, which can be raised in the air, it is an *aerial*, short for aerial ladder truck.

When James Brown gave that alarm on Ashley Street, he *pulled the box*. Had he waited to hunt up a telephone, and given the alarm in that way, it would have been a *still alarm*. When a telephone alarm is received, and it is absolutely clear that the fire is a minor one, Fire Alarm operators will merely despatch the nearest engine and truck companies and the incident remains on record as a *still*. If there is the least chance that the fire could be dangerous, the operator will also transmit or *send* the number of the nearest street box.

When the first engine company reaches the scene, it will stretch hose or *lay a line*. For a small fire, this would be the *booster line* but a larger line is always placed in readiness, should it be needed. That is,

the booster is *backed up* by larger hose, or a *big line*. If the fire is burning rather briskly it will be called a *working fire* or a *worker*. Meantime the pump is *set in* at a hydrant and *connected* or *hooked up* with suction hose, to receive water. This may be of rubber-lined cotton, *soft suction*, or of heavy reinforced rubber, *hard suction*. The choice is a technical matter. We think Chief Eaton used hard suction at the Chapman fire.

At the same time a ladder company will *throw* one or more *ground ladders* against the building and usually will raise an aerial, or *big stick*. Laddermen will ascend to *open up* or *vent*, to let smoke and gases escape and thus provide an *up-draft* to draw the fire upwards and outwards so that it will not *mushroom*, and thus *extend* laterally and downwards, perhaps *involving* parts of the building still untouched by flame. Hose will not be carried up a ladder, but a *line* may be *taken over a ladder*. When all is over, companies are ordered to *make up*; they collect their hose, ladders, and tools, replace them on the pieces and *return to quarters*. One or two may be directed to remain for *overhauling*, a thorough exploration of the premises to make sure that no hidden fire still lurks. This avoids the chance of a *rekindle*. When he is satisfied that everything is safe, the Chief Officer radioes Fire Alarm to *send the all-out*, and the incident is finished.

We could spend a week on this one.

The final item for the record is one aspect of Civil Defense. C.D., as you know, was set up to provide a ready reserve in case of enemy attack, but it has been so useful in our ordinary domestic calamities that it might possibly become a permanent organization. It provides, among other things, for an Auxiliary Fire Service, which, in Cambridge, has been very carefully planned.

Auxiliary Fire, as it is called, has two 750-gallon pumping engines, complete with hose and tools, which were procured through "matching funds"; that is, Cambridge paid part of the cost and Uncle Sam the remainder. This means a sort of joint ownership, under a measure of federal control. The two pieces are quartered in city property, at Fresh Pond, where there is a fully-equipped fire station with radio, gong, and telephone connected directly with the Fire Alarm office.

The Auxiliary has its own chief officers, who report to the Director of Civil Defense. It is formed into platoons, each of which is responsible

for service one day per week and each of which drills once each week. In any emergency there is a force which can be put into action usually within twenty minutes. The Auxiliary, of course, can be alerted at any time by Civil Defense authorities, but it may also be called upon at any time by the Fire Chief for local emergencies. It was on duty at the great fire in Somerville in 1954, and it went also to Worcester when the tornado struck. In 1955 it worked at four major Cambridge fires and was on duty during the three hurricane periods. This year, when the snow fell so heavily and unexpectedly, it logged about one hundred hours of duty and it received special commendation from the Chief of Department himself. All of this is in official records. It might be just as well to file it with the Historical Society too.

Fire protection is something which touches us all intimately. It permits us to rest quietly at night and helps to preserve what peace we may have by day. The highly trained and splendidly equipped Cambridge Fire Department is adequate for all foreseeable emergencies. Unseen, it watches constantly over the city. It's nice to know it's there.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE EAST CAMBRIDGE STORY

By JOHN W. WOOD

Read May 31, 1956

FOR some reason, the local history of East Cambridge has been almost completely neglected. It is a little hard to understand why this should be. There is so much that is interesting.

It was here that eight hundred British soldiers landed to begin their march to Lexington and Concord, and made a dismal start to a terrible day by fording the icy flood tide over the causeway. One of their number, left behind because of illness, found his way to the home of Thomas Graves and thus spread the alarm which sent the Cambridge company speeding toward Concord.¹ Graves' house, incidentally, was the first to be built in Cambridge.

Not only in history, but in other fields, East Cambridge was, if not unique, certainly unusual. Nowhere else in the city was there a "Millionaire Row" — Otis Street — nor so many rapidly changing fortunes. It was the scene of the largest real estate development by one corporation, where Andrew Craigie, reputed to be the shrewdest Yankee in the country, took a flyer and lost his shirt. Further, it saw the glass industry come, grow to international fame, and go, leaving no trace. Sugar refining, too, flourished and died, as did fine furniture making. Yet the town lived on and populationwise harbored such a variety of people from so many foreign lands that few areas could match it.

Also unique were the "Dearos," exiles from East Cambridge by their own will, but with their "hearts still in the hielands." Did anyone ever sigh for dear old Cambridgeport?

These are only a few of the reasons why East Cambridge should have awakened the pride of Cantabrigians.

In speaking of East Cambridge, I have in mind only what is now Ward One, a relatively small area covering perhaps three hundred acres more or less. Until after the Revolution it was an upland surrounded by swamp land to the west and south, and by Miller's River and the

¹ *Historic Guide to Cambridge.*

Charles estuary on the other two sides. At high tide the marshes were covered by water and the point became an island. A causeway, located approximately where Gore Street is now, afforded a dubious passage over the marsh. When East Cambridge became important from a military standpoint, General Washington had the causeway repaired and strengthened to permit the passage of troops and material. The military importance of East Cambridge consisted in the fact of its nearness to Boston. It will surprise you to see how the river narrows at Lechmere Point, and to realize how easy it was to lob cannon balls from old Israel Putnam's fort and a mortar battery at Lechmere Point over into Boston. The fort was a well-designed and well-constructed work, extending for some distance from the top of the hill both north and south. Old Put, its commander, was a salty character, in addition to being a well-trained and able commander. The story goes, that on one occasion, upon the capture in the Bay of a 13-inch brass mortar, Old Put mounted astride it with a bottle of rum in his hand, and "stood parson," while godfather Mifflin gave it the name "Congress."² Notice that history fails to suggest that Old Put smashed the bottle as a part of the christening ceremony. He may have been able to think of other ways to use it.

Settlement in East Cambridge really began with the formation of the Lechmere Corporation in 1810. Andrew Craigie, by quiet negotiations, succeeded in getting control of all of the land at the point, comprising upward of three hundred acres, for a total investment of about \$30,000, and obtained permission from the legislature to form a corporation to develop the area and to build a toll bridge across the river to Boston. By 1813, the toll bridge was successfully completed, and with access to Boston secured, the undertaking seemed well on its way to success. The corporation, including most of the land and the bridge, was capitalized at \$360,000, and some shares were sold. Also, a road was laid out in a straight line from the bridge to Cambridge Common. This road, now Cambridge Street, is so straight and level that to one standing on the corner of Fourth Street (now Sciarappa), the tower on Memorial Hall is plainly visible.

Now that the stage seemed all set for a real estate boom, a decided

² *Samuel Adams Drake*, p. 180.

reluctance appeared on the part of prospective buyers. This is easily understandable, as there was very little in the area to attract capital.

However, two events occurred to change this situation. First, Andrew Craigie hit upon a shrewd move. In November, 1813, he offered to give to Middlesex County the land bordered by Otis, Second, Thorndike, and Third Streets as a site for a County Court House, and further to present to the County \$24,000 with which to erect the Court House and Jail. This offer was promptly accepted, much to the displeasure of the people of Old Cambridge.

The second critical event was the purchase of a large tract of land running four hundred feet on East Street, four hundred feet on North Street, three hundred feet on Water Street, and on "land covered with water" four hundred feet, by Jesse Putnam. It was conveyed by him to the Boston Porcelain and Glass Company. This was the site of the important glass industry that was to develop.

From this time on, sales were brisk and settlement of the district went on successfully. Apparently, too, the advent of industry set the pattern of growth in the area. It is an interesting fact that at no time in East Cambridge could you find large estates, such as those in Old Cambridge and in Cambridgeport. The story runs that Spencer Phipps, in the early days, built himself a mansion on what is now Otis Street, but that during the house warming to welcome his friends, the house caught fire and burned to the ground. Perhaps the fates were against it. Whatever the reason, in later years the well-to-do families who built up "millionaires' row" occupied relatively small houses. The Sortwells, the Chaffees, the Lockharts, and others who lived here apparently had no ambition to build on a large scale. Perhaps there just wasn't room. It is remembered in East Cambridge that Mr. Lockhart used to bring a large steam yacht to anchor in the river just below the bridge.

It is interesting to note that many of the East Cambridge families later moved into large houses in the upper part of the city — Judge McIntire, Gustavus Goepper, Otis S. Brown, and Frank Fitzpatrick on North Avenue (Massachusetts Avenue), the Rindge family and Oliver H. Durrell on Dana Hill, the Sortwells on Highland Street, and William E. Doyle on Cambridge Street.

With the establishment of the glass works, a considerable number of English families were brought over to furnish the necessary knowl-

edge and skill, as there were few if any such workers in America. At the same time, there was a considerable influx of Germans, with some Scotch and Irish. Typical representatives of the German element were the Gutheims. One son later became Chief of the Cambridge Fire Department, and another is a prominent attorney in Washington. Another family was the Goeppers, who built up a successful barrel factory as an adjunct to the Revere Sugar Refinery. Gustavus Goepper was a prominent citizen of Cambridge, active as President of the East Cambridge Savings Bank and Vice-President of the Cambridge Electric Light Company and in many other interests. Charles Emmel, an artist in furniture design, and Louis Volpe, an artist in glass decoration, were Germans living here.

The New England Glass Company was the most famous of the early industries. It was originally the Boston Porcelain and Glass Company, organized by Amos Binney and Daniel Hastings of Cambridge and Edmund Munroe of Boston. Demming Jarvis, who later organized the Sandwich Glass Company, was the general manager and sales agent, and to him should go much of the credit for the early financial success of the enterprise. The New England Company made a wide variety of plain and moulded glass. Its greatest pride, however, was rich cut glass. The company was also a large producer of red lead, which was shipped to all parts of the United States.

By 1823, East Cambridge had a population of one thousand people, closely following the growth of the New England Company, which was then reputed to be the largest glass factory in the world. By 1849 the factory had five hundred workmen and a payroll of \$200,000.

The technical efficiency of the glass works was largely due to members of the Leighton family. Thomas Leighton was induced to come over from England to serve as superintendent. It was not easy for him to leave England as there was a law forbidding glass workers to leave for America, but he went first to France, and from there succeeded in reaching Cambridge. He was thoroughly conversant with the art of glass making, and the business flourished under his direction.

The New England Company reached its greatest prosperity near the middle of the century. Oddly enough, no one contributed more to the decline of the company than William Leighton, a genius in glass production, who was a son of Thomas Leighton. It was he who in-

vented lime glass, which could be produced much more cheaply than the flint glass made by the New England Company. The serious competition which resulted, particularly from Ohio, where cheaper fuels were available, finally created a competitive position which was almost impossible to meet.

In 1872, Mr. William L. Libbey was brought in to try to stem the tide, and for a time conditions improved. Mr. Libbey died in 1883 and was succeeded by his son, Edward, who continued the losing battle until labor troubles multiplied the problems to such a point that a shut-down was imperative. In 1888 the Cambridge business was liquidated, and Edward Libbey moved to Toledo, Ohio.

From the beginning to the end, the New England Company produced glass equal to the finest produced anywhere. Sandwich glass, which has become so famous that it has become a collection item, was hardly in the same class. The probability is that many of those treasured pieces purporting to be Sandwich glass were made in East Cambridge. As a matter of fact, some of the more elaborate pieces made by the New England Company have never been surpassed.

Many of the glass workers lived in the area of Winter, Gore, and Bridge Streets. It was an attractive neighborhood with well-shaded streets and attractive little homes, each with its own garden. For the most part, these houses were owned by the glass workers themselves.

The glass house buildings have disappeared leaving no trace. Even the tremendous chimney, higher than Bunker Hill monument, is gone. Part of the land was bought by Squires, but the largest part was acquired by the Boston and Maine Railroad for freight yards, which brought complete desolation to an area which might have been an attractive part of the city.

The decline of the glass industry and the removal of at least one hundred families from a small area like East Cambridge would seem to be a finishing blow to the town, but fortunately the furniture-making shops had been growing rapidly; the large packing plants of Squire and North, and the Revere Sugar Refinery more than made up for the loss of the glass works in the '70's and '80's. The change in population, however, became more and more marked. Irish families came in large numbers until they occupied East Cambridge almost to the exclusion of all other nationalities. In 1930, Mrs. Watkins remarks, some of the old

families were still living in this part of the town, although business had crept in around them, and Leighton Court was called "Yankee Village" because it had resisted the invasion of foreign arrivals. The original population had been mostly English, Scotch, German, and Irish.

It is an interesting fact that both the glass and furniture industries called for a high type of workman. Much of the glass produced was artistic, both in design and execution, and many of the pieces which have survived show this fine taste. The same could be said for much of the fine furniture produced. Hence the population of the town must have contained an exceptionally high average of ability.

Speaking of the furniture industry, it should be noted that there were several large factories. The Geldowsky factory, for example, was an immense structure occupying the square bounded by First, Otis, Second, and Thorndike Streets.

Much of the furniture produced was hand-made and of a very high grade, although there was a considerable amount of machine work. Here again, the competition of machine-made goods from the West, particularly Grand Rapids, brought about a gradual decline in prosperity and the final disappearance of the industry.

These drastic changes in industry have had their effects on the population of the town, as, for example, in the departure of the families of glass workers to Toledo after 1888. But new industries have always appeared to keep East Cambridge busy, and new families have come to fill the vacancies. From the beginning, there were a number of people of Irish ancestry in East Cambridge, and as a result of changes described above, there came a gradual increase in their numbers until they became the dominant factor. Warm-hearted, thrifty, devout, they did much for the life of the town. From these families have come a Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, a leader in the civic and philanthropic life of Boston, and at least one leader in the civic life of Cambridge.

It is important to note that here in East Cambridge occurred the organization of the first Catholic parish in the city. An excellent account of the history of this event is given by Judge McIntire.³

Until the year 1793, the Catholics of Cambridge were obliged to row

³ *The Cambridge of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-six.*

across the river to go to church, but as their numbers increased, Cambridge was made a part of the parish of St. Mary's in Charlestown. In 1830, a Catholic Sunday School was organized in what had been the Methodist Academy Building at the corner of Fourth and Otis Streets, with Daniel Southwick as Superintendent. The children, after their lesson, were formed in line and marched to the church in Charlestown for the morning Mass. In or about 1842, the number of Catholic families increased to the point that a meeting was held in the Academy Building to consider the erection of a church. \$3,600 was subscribed at this meeting, and Bishop Fenwick was asked to consider assigning a priest to organize the parish. Messrs. Southwick, Loring, and Gleason were appointed to supervise the building project. Their work was so successful that Mass was said by Father Fitzpatrick in the basement October 6, 1842 and the following September the building on Fourth Street was dedicated by the Bishop as St. John's Church. So rapid was the growth of the parish that in 1872 a newer, larger church was planned. Father John O'Brien was appointed to direct the program, and the building was completed and dedicated in 1883. This is the Church of the Sacred Heart at Sixth and Otis Streets, for many years the largest and handsomest Catholic Church in the City.

Another of the interesting churches of East Cambridge was the Trinity Methodist, which for many years occupied a site at the corner of Third and Cambridge Streets. The original church building contained timbers salvaged from old Fort Putnam. This building, however, was replaced by a large brick building seating 1200 people. In its time it was one of the leading Methodist churches in New England. Mr. Wheeler recalls the fact that it was called the "Eel Pot," it was so hard to get into of a Sunday morning. He further recalls that while he was a student at Harvard, Theodore Roosevelt used to teach a class in the Sunday School. As was true of so much of East Cambridge, the church declined in membership and was finally torn down, the site to be used as a parking lot. However, it is interesting to note that in the closing days of 1955, the Trinity Methodist Society acquired a house on Fourth Street where services are now being held. It is doubtful if this indicates any considerable population shift. Rather, it is a tribute to the loyalty of the congregation.

For some reason, East Cambridge did not produce the sort of nationally known celebrities as was the case in Cambridgeport. How-

ever, it was the home during his college years of the eminent jurist John Henry Wigmore, Dean of Northwestern University Law School, who married an East Cambridge girl. Professor Wigmore was known internationally as the author of books on jurisprudence, and in 1912 he was awarded an honorary degree from Harvard.

Also, there was Edward D. Libbey, who perhaps was not born in East Cambridge, but was closely identified with the town through his work at the New England Glass Company.

Mr. Libbey was a remarkable person. When his struggle to preserve the New England Company ended with a disastrous strike, he decided to move to Toledo, Ohio, in the region of cheap fuel and abundant sand, whence had come the competition which had been his undoing. Judging from his photograph, he was an exceptionally handsome man. He participated in the social life of East Cambridge, but never married. He established a glass factory in Toledo, with the help of many of his old employees. He maintained there the same high standards which had prevailed in Cambridge, and was successful from the very beginning. His business developed into the great Libbey-Owens-Ford Company of today.

At his death, the leading Toledo newspaper said of him:

"The story of his life is largely a story of the remarkable machine age. For centuries, glass-making had been an art involving a large amount of highly skilled labor. Through the association of Mr. Libbey with the business and his various enterprises, the industry in all parts of the world has felt the touch of genius which brought mechanical triumph in glass manufacturing. To the Libbey Company, this meant the organization of the great Owen Bottle Company, founded upon the automatic blowing machine invented by Michael J. Owen, a member of the Libbey firm.

"At his death in 1925, Edward Libbey was mourned as Toledo's first citizen. Scarcely a family in Toledo has not been touched in some way by the benefactions of the great multi-millionaire manufacturer, patron of art, city builder, philanthropist and citizen."

Edward Libbey was not the only interesting character connected with the town, although he was perhaps the greatest. James D. Green, the first Mayor of Cambridge, was intimately connected with East Cambridge. He was a graduate of Harvard and of the Harvard Divinity

School. He was only thirty-two when, in 1830, he was ordained minister of the Unitarian Church which still stands at the corner of Third and Thorndike Streets. He continued in the ministry until 1840.

The first city government was formed in 1846 and met for inauguration ceremonies in the town house, at the corner of Harvard and Norfolk Streets where St. Mary's Church now stands. The organization of the town into a city must have presented many problems not faced by mayors of later years, but evidently it proceeded smoothly and to the satisfaction of the voters, as Mayor Green was reelected in '47, '53, '60, and '61. The salary of the Mayor was \$600.00, but fortunately Mr. Green had some private means.

Evidently the police force offered some problems. It is said that Mayor Green once remarked to City Clerk Jacobs, in his usual decisive and abrupt manner: "If I could have my way, the entire police force of the city would be abolished."

"What would you do then?" enquired the City Clerk.

"Let every man keep a dog," replied the Mayor.

However, he evidently was greatly appreciated by the people of Cambridge. It was said of him that "his entire life was a conscientious and faithful performance of duty."

There are two other rather flamboyant characters who should be mentioned, namely, Frank Fitzpatrick and Thomas W. Lawson, who had perhaps a good many things in common. The former accumulated a fortune by selling tickets in the Louisiana State Lottery, at one time a flourishing enterprise, long since extinct. He used to threaten Mr. Wheeler with withdrawal of his money from Mr. Wheeler's bank if he ever bought any of his "goods." The Fitzpatricks later moved to the corner of Arlington Street and Massachusetts Avenue, and it is recalled that one year he planted his large front lawn to cabbages, much to the edification of the neighbors.

Tom Lawson was never very closely identified with East Cambridge, although he resided there at one time. His career was almost incredible. Starting with nothing, he built up a large fortune through speculation in copper. He built the seven-masted schooner, "The Thomas W. Lawson," the largest ever built; wrote a best seller; he developed a large estate in Scituate, which he called "Dreamwold"; and finally he lost almost everything he had. You may recall that he is one of the villains

under a very thin disguise in Mary Bancroft's somewhat scurrilous book *Upside Down in the Magnolia Tree*.

To revert to the glass industry for a moment, however, it should be noted that besides the great New England Glass Company, there were six or seven smaller firms which together accounted for a large output. Noticeable among these smaller concerns was the New England Glass Bottle Company, which was located in the area of Third and Spring Streets. Until a few years ago, this neighborhood was known in not too complimentary a term as "The Bottle House."

Another interesting concern was the Bay State Glass Company, at Bridge and Fourth Streets, of which Amory Houghton was a director. In 1851, Amory Houghton established the Union Glass Company in Somerville, a business which persisted until a few years ago.

Thinking that there might be some connection between the Cambridge family of Houghton and the Corning Glass Company, I made enquiry of Mr. Frederick H. Knight, Secretary of Corning Glass Company and received the following information:

"When I received your letter of March 2nd, I asked our Chairman, Mr. Amory Houghton, whose great-grandfather founded the company [Corning Glass] whether he had any information which would answer your question.

"Mr. Houghton tells me that the Massachusetts company, founded by his great-grandfather in 1851, was located in Somerville, Mass., and was called the Union Glass Company. Manufacturing operations were transferred to Brooklyn, New York, and the Houghtons first came to Corning in 1868 and the "Corning Glass Works" was incorporated in New York in 1875."

Thus it is quite evident that the two great American glass companies had their beginnings with men whose experience came from the East Cambridge enterprises.

In the fifties and sixties, there were many flourishing social organizations in East Cambridge. The Germans gathered for their characteristic parties at Harugari Hall, which was a branch of a larger organization represented in many parts of the country. Their meetings may have been nostalgic but they were lightened by good music and good cheer. With the change in the population, due to changes in industry, membership fell off until the affairs of the society had to be liquidated.

It speaks well for the management that the last members shared in a division of funds that amounted to a substantial sum.

Some of the active business men of the town formed the Putnam Lodge of Masons in 1854. Starting with a small group, it soon grew in strength and numbers until it was one of the vital, strong lodges of the city. Putnam Lodge had a remarkable record in the War between the States. A history of Masonry in Cambridge says: "The name of Ezra Ripley, the first master of the lodge, is indelibly inscribed upon the Soldier's Monument on Cambridge Common, as is also that of that true mason and able soldier, Colonel P. Stearns Davis, its fourth master; also, Lieutenant Jared Shepard of the 47th Mass. Volunteers, another active member of the lodge. All of these members died in the service of their country, in the war for the maintenance of the Union."

Putnam Lodge was finally transferred to the Masonic building in North Cambridge.

Another society, the Putnam Club, is a study in contrasts. Its members were recruited exclusively from Millionaire's Row, and their club room was located over a butcher's shop on Cambridge Street. When in the course of events the club was disbanded, its quarters were taken over by the Father Mathews Total Abstinence Society.

By far the largest of these organizations was the St. John's Literary Institute, which was founded in 1854 and continued its activities until 1917. This was the period in America when "culture" was pursued seriously.

In those days there were Lyceums, Chatauquas, and lecture courses everywhere. There is an appealing story of Ralph Waldo Emerson making a career of traveling through the country east of the Mississippi, lecturing to audiences furnished by these societies, and realizing for a winter's work perhaps as much as \$800. His real profit lay in bringing his message to these serious people who were looking for a better way of life. Life was hard; to be endured, it had to have a meaning.

In the early days the St. John's Institute sought to bring to its membership, most of whom were members of St. John's Church, lectures, debates, and miscellaneous entertainment. Classes were organized for the benefit of the young men who worked in the glass factory and for some of the older men whose education had been neglected. The society was directed by the older men, who naturally ran the meetings along conservative lines in close touch with the church. As time went on, how-

ever, the younger members began to assert themselves. Money was raised for a new building, and while fairs were held for the benefit of the church, culture was less popular, and the emphasis on the social side became greater.

While the dramatic prowess of the members was not of course generated by the Institute, the Institute certainly furnished an opportunity for their development. Harry Mahoney, Editor of the *Cambridge Sentinel* for many years, and John T. Shea, a prominent citizen, wrote of this side of the life of the town as follows:

"Cambridge Street from Lechmere Square to the railroad crossing and its contributory Streets housed as brilliant a body of would-be Booths, Barretts, Davenports and Warrens as any community of its size in the country. A keen flair for the dramatic has always characterized the human spirit of old East Cambridge. No matter what the theme or the field, whether religious, political, social or humanitarian, East Cambridge was bound to dramatize it."

With this abundance of natural talent, and with such outstanding men as John T. Shea, John Whoriskey, and James Aylward, the Institute shows attracted crowds from all over the city.

Activities were continued in a diminishing ratio until 1917, when as the population had changed in character, the affairs of the Institute were wound up, and the assets were turned over to the Right Reverend Hugh F. Blunt, then pastor of the Sacred Heart Church.

Among other picturesque organizations was the Apple Island Fishing Club. The club used to row in large boats from Lechmere Point to the Island, a little spot of two or three acres off Winthrop. To one sufficiently fortified, this little outing presented no great difficulty, and while there were very few fish to be caught, it was always possible, with the aid of the fish market, to put together a chowder, and a good time was had by all.

In the early days, St. Patrick's Day was the high point of the year, usually celebrated by a parade. The story runs that as one of these parades was in progress, the Hibernians were proceeding down Cambridge Street and were part way past Fourth Street just as the St. John's Institute delegation appeared marching down that street. Such a situation offered certain exciting possibilities. But the colonel commanding the Hibernians, a fine figure of a man mounted on a horse, met the situation with the command, "Skithier about now, skithier about, and let the St. John's

Literary Institute pass through yez," and the crisis was safely passed.

It is interesting to note that these three societies represented the dominant racial stock of the early days, and that none of them survived the change in population.

At the present time, the dominant racial strains residing in East Cambridge are Italian, Portuguese, and Polish.

What of the future?

This little hillock, sticking up out of the marsh has seen some stirring events. Its marshes have gradually disappeared. The river front has been smoothed off with a granite wall. Craigie's bridge has given place to the Charles River Dam, and the attractive waterfront park has gained in interest and importance by the building of the Science Museum. Apparently, however, there has been no change in East Cambridge housing for at least a hundred years. It remains one of the most overcrowded areas in the city. The Planning Board says that the strong church affiliations and national loyalties are contributing factors to a strong civic pride in East Cambridge, and probably more important, to absence of serious social problems. In two areas, from 85 to 90 per cent of the houses have no central heating. The prevailing rents are from \$18.00 to \$21.00 monthly. The absence of social problems, despite poor physical conditions, may well be attributed to the strong influence exerted on the community by the East End Union Settlement House and the four parishes, Irish, Italian, Polish, and Portuguese, three of which maintain their own schools.

In view of what has happened to East Cambridge in the past, the present tendency toward smaller more diversified industry points to more stable conditions in the future. However, the future looks rather drab in contrast with what the past has shown.

In conclusion, let me say that this paper gives a totally inadequate account of an appealingly picturesque and colorful neighborhood, the area that might have been a slum and isn't, the step-child of the University City.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Wheeler, for many years President of the East Cambridge Savings Bank, for his kind interest and many suggestions from his great store of memories of the people of Old East Cambridge; also, to Mr. Kenneth Goepper, and to Mrs. L. W. Watkins' book, *Cambridge Glass*.

THE FOUNDER AND THREE EDITORS OF THE CAMBRIDGE CHRONICLE

BY ELIOT B. SPALDING

Read October 23, 1956

ON Thursday, May 7, 1846, three days after the first city government of Cambridge was inaugurated, a 32-year-old printer, in dubious health and a comparative stranger, published the first issue of the *Cambridge Chronicle*.

He had chosen a strategic and newsworthy time to establish his weekly newspaper, and his first issue took full advantage of this fortunate timing. It contained a complete account of the city's inaugural exercises, and, for good measure, a story over a column long about the inauguration on the preceding Thursday of the Honorable Edward Everett, LL.D., as President of Harvard College.

The inaugural address of Mayor James D. Green to the city council was printed in full. From it we learn that the population of the city was between 13,000 and 14,000, that the city debt totaled \$22,000 of which \$7,000 was a note to Catherine E. Thomson, and that the tax rate for the past two years had been forty-eight cents on a hundred dollars.

In comparing the relative advantages of the city and town forms of government, the mayor implied that the city form was more likely to provide adequate police protection against "riotous noises at night" and against citizens having their lives endangered by "the furious driving of horses through the streets."

The *Chronicle's* coverage of the inauguration of the new President of Harvard was enlivened by a paragraph which confided that "pick-pockets extracted six pocketbooks at the affair."

Since that first issue, the *Chronicle* has continued in an unbroken series of issues to do what its name implies — to chronicle the events of Cambridge.

It is not, however, the purpose of this article to recite the complete history of the *Chronicle*. That has already been done elsewhere. In the *Semi-Centennial Souvenir of Cambridge* issued by the *Chronicle* in 1896,

the first half century of the paper's life was described by one whose qualifications I should be the last to question: my granduncle, Warren F. Spalding. This history was brought up to date in the special Centennial Edition issued by the *Chronicle* in 1946.

Instead of rehashing this material, this article will concern itself with four personalities who played important and sometimes exciting roles in the *Chronicle's* history — Andrew Reid, the founder; Linn Boyd Porter, the boy editor who won fortune and contemporary fame as a writer of popular novels; C. Burnside Seagrave, who held the editorship for the longest period (forty-three years); and Lucian Deane (Dan) Fuller who served as the bridge by which the traditions of the *Cambridge Chronicle* were carried over into the *Cambridge Chronicle-Sun*.

At the time he published the first issue of the *Chronicle*, Andrew Reid was thirty-two years old and had lived in Cambridge for less than a year. His training and background had been entirely in the printing business.

He was born in Bathgate, Scotland, served an apprenticeship as a printer in Edinburgh, emigrated to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and in December, 1834, came to Boston, where he worked as a printer until the spring of 1843. At that time, he became senior partner of the Boston firm of Reid and Rand, publishers of the *Sabbath School Messenger* and *Sunday School Teacher*. In the fall of 1845 he retired from the firm because of poor health and moved to Cambridge.

As the time drew near when Cambridge was to change from a town to a city form of government, he thought his health was sufficiently restored to resume the business of printing. He decided to establish a weekly newspaper, "hoping by this and the casual work that might offer to be able to provide for the wants of his family."

His timing and business judgment were sound, his paper found favor with readers and advertisers, his prospects for success seemed bright, but his health was not equal to the task. On January 4, 1847, less than eight months after he founded the *Chronicle*, he died.

In its obituary notice, the *Chronicle* stated that his illness had begun about two years before, that it had been a painful pleasure in recent weeks to witness in him "the mastery of a strong will over a wasting frame," and that he was "an example of constancy and perseverance under adverse circumstances."

His death certificate confirms what this description of his illness might lead us to suspect. It lists the cause of death as "consumption."

The obituary relates that he was a member of Boston Lodge No. 25, I.O.O.F., and that he left a widow and four young children. It concluded by stating that "his work on earth is ended but he has left behind him a good name, and the kind remembrance of all who knew him."

He also left behind him a newspaper that 109 years later is still a regular and, I trust, a welcome visitor in Cambridge homes. His family, too, continues to be an honored and useful one. In World War II, his great great grandson, Philip Standish Mather, flew thirty-five missions over Japan as a radar man on a B-29 bomber.

After the founder, the next three men to take the helm of the *Chronicle* were, in chronological order, John Ford, John Baldwin and George Fisher.

George Fisher had one unusual claim to fame which perhaps should be noted in passing. George Grier Wright, in a paper written for your Society in 1928, said that Fisher "enjoys the distinction of being, so far as my memory goes, the only Cambridge editor who has been publicly horse-whipped for his editorial utterance."

Warren F. Spalding, writing in 1896, conceded that Fisher was an independent and aggressive editor, but gives a more moderate version of the whipping story. He says, "Fisher was twice visited by angry men, who with cowhide in hand sought to make him retract, but he held his ground, did not retract, and did not get an application of the lash as intended. One of these misunderstandings was caused by Mr. Fisher's position upon the temperance question which gave offence to the saloon crowd and its friends."

But independent as Fisher may have been, his editorship was sedate, indeed, when compared to that of the brash and iconoclastic boy editor who followed. This was Linn Boyd Porter who was only twenty-one years old when, in October, 1873, he purchased the *Chronicle* from Fisher for \$6,000.

Wiseacres who predicted that the young purchaser wouldn't be able to make a go of it were wrong. Linn Boyd Porter had more experience and more business acumen than his years would indicate.

He was born in Westfield, Massachusetts, where his father, Elijah, was proprietor of the *Westfield Newsletter*. His father named him in

honor of Linn Boyd of Kentucky, who served as Speaker of the national House of Representatives.

In his twelfth year, Linn went to Minnesota, where at Lake City his father was postmaster and editor of the *Tribune*. Adventurous and enterprising from the word go, the lad set out to earn his own living and, amazingly enough, he did so. He worked on farms as a chore boy, in printing offices as a devil, on steamboats as a newsboy, and even as advance man for a traveling show.

At the ripe old age of sixteen, he returned to Massachusetts, spent a year at the Leicester Military Academy, clerked in a dry goods store in Worcester, perfected his typesetting skill in a Southbridge printing office, and at the age of nineteen came to Boston as a typesetter for the *Boston Journal*. A few months later he became a reporter for that newspaper, a post which he held when he bought the *Chronicle* while still only twenty-one years old.

As soon as he purchased the *Chronicle*, its columns began to show a new bounce and gusto. In his very first issue he censured the city council for overriding the mayor's veto and voting to extend Green Street from Pearl Street to Brookline Street. He was equally critical of a prior vote widening Prospect Street. This, he said, with all the blessed assurance of youth, was a project that could just as well have been postponed for twenty-five years. In support of his stand he wrote: "Beyond two horse cars an hour, an occasional vehicle and a drove of cattle several times a week, there is no travel to speak of on this avenue."

He was perhaps on more logical ground in December, 1873, when he opposed a pending council order that would have abolished the position of Superintendent of Schools.

His initial editorial gusto was no flash in the pan. As the years went by he continued to write in the same lively slam-bang style.

March of 1874 found him arguing that the city should advertise for bids when buying materials and stores. If competitive bidding prevailed, he wrote, "friends of members of the city government would not be so anxious for their election in some instances, for their chance at contracts would not be increased in any degree thereby . . ."

For his issue of February 21, 1880, he cooked up one of the strangest sets of statistics ever printed in a newspaper. He wrote that: "A careful estimate of the amount of talking done by members of our Board of

Aldermen in open session . . . gives the following result: — Chamberlain 50%, Corcoran 12, Brine 10, Gilmore 9, Chapman 7, Gooch 5, Howe 3, Davies 2, Sortwell 1½, Nichols ¾ of one per cent. We submit these facts to an intelligent public."

In the same issue he gently admonished an anonymous letter-writer as follows: "If the totally stupid dunce who writes us a letter signed 'Citizen' this week will call at this office, he will learn something greatly to his advantage, provided he is gifted with understanding."

He also made some sprightly comment in that same issue on the fact that the city council had hemmed and hawed before reluctantly accepting the offer of the President of Harvard to give the city \$3,000 to buy a chemical engine, a pair of horses and a set of harness.

Editor Porter wrote: "Looking a gift horse in the mouth has always been considered a highly improper thing to do. But to look a pair of gift horses, and a set of double harness, and a chemical engine, and the President and Fellows of Harvard College in the mouth certainly surpasses all former feats."

Looking back on his editorship at a later date, Porter recalled:

I attacked through my newspaper and by investigations, the city treasurer, the city engineer, the chief of the fire department, the city messenger, the city clerk, registrar of the water board, chief of police, and I think a few more, and at the end they were all supplanted by new men while living, except one, whose death occurred under circumstances which all will remember.

Some of these officials were accused of frauds, some of incapacity. Nearly all were "whitewashed" by investigating committees. But all had to go . . . One of them sued me in the superior court for \$5,000, on the charge of libel. A verdict was rendered in my favor, but some \$200 of the expense of my defense had to be paid out of my own pocket while the "prominent citizens" who had urged me into the fight remarked that I was going it a little stronger than they had anticipated.

In all this editorial and political uproar, Porter declared:

I had no personal axe to grind. Like the fellow at Donnybrook, I hit every head I could find, where I thought the interests of the city demanded. My private business was always made second to these calls. Aspiring politicians used to tell me how much good I was doing, and how gladly they would reciprocate if I ever wanted office for myself. I tried them once, afterwards, and those I had done the hardest work for deserted me almost to a man.

It would be wrong to conclude from this description of Porter's editorship that his talent was confined to a gift for sprightly and outspoken writing. He was also a shrewd and hard-working businessman. The panic of '73 fell on the country in the very month he bought the *Chronicle*, and he later confessed that "nothing but the hardest work made success possible."

The \$6,000 he paid for the paper bought, he said, little besides the "good will." The plant was in a sorry state; there was some type considerably the worse for wear, and no press at all. He bought new type, increased the size of the *Chronicle* to eight pages well-filled with advertising, and doubled its circulation in the first year.

At the end of that first year he was proud of his progress, but had worked too hard and his health began to suffer. He reported that

I had been my own editor, publisher, bookkeeper, collector and city hall reporter, besides doing the larger share of my locals and getting most of my advertising. From eight in the morning till eleven at night were my working hours. Suburban papers can not be made profitable to any one who expects to sit in the office and hire his work done for him.

He must have kept everlastingly at it in the years that followed. When he sold the *Chronicle* in 1886, the paper had a good dress of type, steam engine, printing press, and "all the paraphernalia of a first-class office." He admitted that he "had made a little money, although I might have made much more if I had devoted less attention to politics, and I could afford to rest." He was then only thirty-four years old.

Despite his exhausting newspaper labors, he apparently found time to acquire some real estate holdings. In his announcement of the sale of the *Chronicle*, he reported that the care of the Austin and Norfolk Hotels would, with other business matters, occupy his time for the present, and "future plans must await future developments."

He was, of course, too enterprising and imaginative a person to lead a humdrum, vegetative life for long. He was soon caught up in the whirlwind of a new career, winning fortune and contemporary fame as a writer of popular novels.

Under the pseudonym of Albert Ross, he wrote twenty-three or more books published by G. W. Dillingham Company, New York, under the general title of "The Albatross Novels."

Some idea of the nature of these novels can perhaps be gained from listing their titles: *Black Adonis*, *The Garston Bigamy*, *Her Husband's Friend*, *His Foster Sister*, *His Private Character*, *In Stella's Shadow*, *Love at Seventy*, *Love Gone Astray*, *Moulding a Maiden*, *The Naked Truth*, *A New Sensation*, *An Original Sinner*, *Out of Wedlock*, *Speaking of Ellen*, *Stranger than Fiction*, *A Sugar Princess*, *That Gay Deceiver*, *Their Marriage Bond*, *Thou Shalt Not*, *Thy Neighbor's Wife*, *Why I'm Single*, *Young Farwett's Mabel*, and *Young Miss Giddy*.

A contemporary newspaper account stated that "Mr. Porter has only one superstition. He believes that his novels should have titles of three words each." It also stated that "He has one theory of writing: he believes that the relation of man to woman is the most dramatic and interesting phase of human life, and all his books deal with that relation."

None of his books can today be found in the Cambridge Public Library. Only two of them, *The Naked Truth* and *Stranger than Fiction*, are available at Harvard's Widener Library.

While writing his novels, he indulged his desire for travel. *The Naked Truth* has a preface written in Honolulu in June, 1899, and *Stranger than Fiction* has a preface written in Shanghai in November of the same year. This makes reference to his travels in the Pacific isles, Japan, the Adriatic, and the Caribbean. His passion for travel carried him into nearly every American state, and on many journeys to different parts of the globe. His sea voyages alone exceeded 100,000 miles.

A feature article in a Boston newspaper, written at the height of his literary success, gave some interesting sidelights on his career. It stated that:

Albert Ross makes no claim to literary greatness. His name is on the covers of a million books, and with a shrewd business sense he has so husbanded the money earned by writing them that even if the name of Albert Ross is not high on the scroll of literary fame, the name of Linn Boyd Porter is unquestioned when appended to a bank check.

. . . He is the owner of much real estate besides other substantial investments. He has erected five apartment houses in Cambridge, which he still owns, and was also the builder of "Ware Hall," the Harvard dormitory, which he sold at a handsome profit . . . He drives good horses and loves to be surrounded by his friends when at home. He has also a fondness for the stage, and numbers among his associates many people in that profession.

His home, by the way, was described as being the "extensive estate bounded by Harvard, Dana and Chatham Streets."

Later he moved to Brookline where on the night of June 29, 1916, he died, leaving his wife and two married daughters. Death was attributed to a heart ailment that had developed during a trip to South Africa several years before. He was buried in Cambridge Cemetery.

The man who purchased the *Chronicle* from Linn Boyd Porter in 1886 was F. Stanhope Hill. He held its ownership until 1890, when he purchased the *Cambridge Tribune* and sold the *Chronicle* to F. H. Buffum. Mr. Buffum did not hold it long. In December, 1891, he sold the paper to James W. Bean and C. Burnside Seagrave who, as partners, operated the paper successfully for some forty-three years.

Mr. Bean was a good newspaperman and businessman too, but he devoted much of his time to other interests. It is with his partner, C. Burnside Seagrave, editor and manager of the *Chronicle* for over forty-three years, that we shall be concerned here.

Charlie Seagrave, as his friends called him, was a born newspaperman who would have been miserable in any other line of work. He had a bump of curiosity as high as Mount Everest and dug for facts with the tireless energy of a steam shovel.

The son of Captain Charles Stowe Seagrave and Watie Almeda Scott, he was born in Uxbridge, August 3, 1862, while his father was serving in the Civil War with General Burnside's division. Hence, presumably, the future editor's middle name of Burnside.

The family came to Cambridge when C. Burnside was ten years old and enrolled him as a pupil in the Shepard Grammar School. The first item he ever wrote for any newspaper was a little account for the *Cambridge Tribune* of a sleigh ride given by his grammar school class. This attracted the attention of the owner of the *Tribune*, who offered the youngster a position to write local items for that paper. He accepted and for a year or more gathered local news from North Cambridge.

In 1879 the *Tribune* offered him three dollars a week to become a full-time employee and learn the business. Young Seagrave did not hesitate; he promptly left his studies at Cambridge High School and, at age seventeen, became a full-fledged newspaperman.

In 1882 he started and took charge of an offshoot of the *Tribune* in Arlington, known as the *Middlesex Townsman*. Later, before he and

his partner acquired the *Chronicle*, he worked for papers in Marlboro and Waltham, and returned to Cambridge as Cambridge-Somerville representative of the *Boston Journal*. During this last period, he also served as city editor of the *Cambridge Tribune*.

Besides his newspaper experience, he brought to the editorship of the *Chronicle* many other assets: a passion for accuracy, a lack of social or economic snobbery, a driving energy, a hatred of sham and soft soap, a fiery independence that made him incapable of kow-towing to anyone, and a love of Cambridge that was not gushing, but deep.

He was always more interested in the news columns of the paper than in either its editorials or its advertising. The race, religion, or social status of a resident was no concern of his. If a person lived in Cambridge and his doings were newsworthy, Editor Seagrave was always eager to print them. At all times his reporter's instinct was predominant. He knew that names make news and build circulation.

At times he would leave advertisements out of the paper to make room for news — a policy almost unthinkable today.

Chronicle editorials, although often written by other members of the staff, were more likely to be based on common sense than on theories, were more often informative than critical, and made a sincere attempt to advocate what was best for Cambridge. They praised more than they blamed. In short, the *Chronicle*, under Editor Seagrave, was not a common scold.

All these policies helped make the *Chronicle* a unifying rather than a divisive force in a city that was growing rapidly, both in population and industry. The paper helped to tie together in civic pride the separate sections and varied racial and religious groups of which Cambridge is composed.

The writer of this article worked for nine years under Editor Seagrave's direction and can testify that it was frequently exasperating but never boring. Mr. Seagrave was described by the late Henry J. Mahoney as having "as slender a store of patience as may be found in Cambridge." This was literally true.

Outside the office, "The Old Man," as his staff called him, was a kindly gentleman who carried a green felt bag under his arm, walked on the streets instead of the sidewalks, and was extravagantly fond of children, wildflowers, and birds. But inside the office, he was a peppery

and impatient editorial genius who suffered a thousand tortures and died a thousands deaths while getting out each issue of the *Chronicle*. On the morning of publication, he could sometimes be seen, striking his head with his fist and moaning, "God, God, why do I have to do everything myself?"

Every Monday morning he was sure the week ahead would be the most difficult ever, and each week on the night before publication he became so excited that he found it difficult to sleep. He would often get out of bed at midnight, brew himself a cup of coffee at his Bellevue Avenue home, and make his way by foot and trolley car to the *Chronicle* building at 83 Austin Street. There, all by himself in the cavernous composing room, he would don a turtle-necked sweater and cap, light up a White Owl cigar, and work for hours, moving type from one page to another, or writing personal items which he had gathered from a milkman or trolley car conductor on his way to work.

"Get an item out of everyone you meet," was his motto, and he practiced what he preached.

He had a passion for perfection and insisted upon seeing many page proofs and making the most minute corrections before he would allow the paper to go to press. As soon as the first paper was run off, he would scan it swiftly and then — all of a sudden — would smile, light up a cigar, and saunter out to lunch in a state of benign relaxation.

But this didn't necessarily mean that he was through getting out the paper. If he picked up a good personal item while at lunch, he would come dashing back, stop the press, and insist that a place be found on page one for his last-minute scoop. Often it would amount to no more than the fact that a police captain had left for Maine on a hunting trip.

Neither he nor his staff took many holidays. Even when at home, he would sit in his kitchen, clipping Cambridge items out of Boston newspapers, or writing stories in a helter-skelter handwriting that only a few old-timers at the office were able to decode. He once went on a ten-day hunting trip to Maine, but became so fidgety he returned to the paper in less than three days.

He was warm in his friendships and when he admired a man in public life would stand by him through thick and thin. On the other hand, he once ordered that the name of a clergyman to whom he had taken a violent dislike never be allowed to appear in the paper. He held fast to this

rule even when the clergyman was elected Master of his own Masonic Lodge.

Editor Seagrave was a realistic rather than a polished writer. He once wrote that a resident of Upland Road "is sick with sore boils. He is suffering the tortures of the damned." Sometimes his realism was a bit grim as when he wrote that the finding of the decomposed body of a suicide floating in Fresh Pond "once again proves the wisdom of ex-Mayor Quinn's decision to erect a modern filtration plant."

He hated sloppy or careless reporting. Once when a Boston paper carried a story about a wild bull escaping from the Brighton abattoir, he called the abattoir to check up. "Just as I thought," he snorted; "it wasn't a bull at all, just a little heifer."

Occasionally, in a fit of anger, he would discharge a reporter or printer. If they knew the ropes, they would walk out the front door, go for a cup of coffee, return by the side door, and resume their work. Usually he would have cooled off and would be glad to see them back.

He would stand back of his reporters when they were right, even in the face of protests from high city officials. Once a young reporter incurred the ire of the fire chief by writing that firemen, after extinguishing a blaze in a tea room, had eaten up most of the apple pie and ice cream in the tea room's larder.

When the chief stormed into the *Chronicle* office to complain, Editor Seagrave summoned the reporter and heard both sides of the story. His decision was short and gratifying. "You get the hell out of here, Chief," he said, "the boy is right."

In his later years, Editor Seagrave took little part in Cambridge public or social life except through the columns of the *Chronicle*. But earlier he had served as a city councillor, as an election commissioner under six mayors, and as a state representative in 1912, 1914, and 1915. He was author of the legislative bill for the construction of the first unit of the Alewife Brook Parkway, and Seagrave Road, bordering the parkway, is named in his honor.

On the death of his partner, James W. Bean, early in 1934, Mr. Seagrave became sole owner of the *Chronicle*. On November 16, 1934, he sold the paper and plant to Charles M. Cox of Melrose, publisher of the *Dedham Transcript*. Mr. Seagrave continued to edit the paper until May 9, 1935, when Mr. Cox sold the *Chronicle* to the *Cambridge Sun*.

Editor Seagrave then retired to his home at 48 Bellevue Avenue, now owned by Professor John H. Welsh. There, on May 23, 1941, he died. Several months before his death he wrote his own obituary, which he gave to the then editor of the *Chronicle*. He exacted a promise that, upon his death, his obituary would be printed just as he wrote it, that no picture of him would be printed with the story, and that no memorial resolutions would be adopted in his honor. All these promises were kept.

His wife, the former Carrie Choate Hill of Belmont, had died before him. There were no surviving children, their only son having died in infancy.

When the *Chronicle* was purchased by the *Cambridge Sun* in 1935, the two papers were merged. The first issue of the combined papers carried a publisher's announcement stating that "the *Chronicle* is in the hands of its friends who will not hold lightly its reputation or the responsibilities attendant upon its management."

Time proved this statement to be correct. The new owners not only placed the name of the *Chronicle* ahead of the name of the *Sun* in the title of the combined papers, but also kept their promise to "maintain the high standards of accurate and comprehensive news gathering which characterized the *Chronicle* . . . under Editor Seagrave."

One reason why the *Chronicle-Sun* continued to carry on the *Chronicle* tradition was the fortunate fact that the editor and co-owner of the *Sun* was himself a former city editor of the *Chronicle*, thoroughly familiar with its history, prestige and policies.

This was Lucian Deane (Dan) Fuller, who was born in Chatham, January 26, 1884, the son of the Reverend and Mrs. Oliver Payson Fuller, and who was graduated from Brown University in the class of 1906.

After his college days, he went to work in the circulation department of the *Boston Journal*. In 1913 he came to Cambridge as editor of the *Cambridge Standard*, a daily newspaper. In 1919 he served for one year as secretary of the Cambridge Chamber of Commerce, and then served as secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Bath, Maine, until 1921. He then returned to Cambridge where he became city editor of the *Chronicle* under Mr. Seagrave.

Dan Fuller was a short, plump man with sad brown eyes but a delightful sense of humor. He was more of a listener than a talker, often entering a discussion only when he could no longer put up with the non-

sense being uttered. Then, a swift thrust of his wit would puncture the absurdity of the theories being advanced.

He was strongly idealistic by nature, although he would have denied it; and a truly dedicated newspaperman, although he would have denied that too.

On the first day that the writer of this article became a permanent employee of the *Chronicle*, Mr. Fuller shook his head sadly and remarked, "Why don't you go out and commit suicide? You'll be happier in the long run."

A day or two later, he instructed the young reporter to call him Dan. "Don't ever call me Mr. Fuller again," he said, "it makes me feel my age."

Dan knew the newspaper business inside out, and was generous in sharing his knowledge. He seemed to know everyone of importance in the city and helped the young reporter to become acquainted with them too. He was an ideal mentor, fatherly yet strict, especially where accuracy of reporting was concerned.

He was the creator of a popular *Chronicle* feature entitled "A Self-Made Pol Writes to His Son." This gave a humorous but shrewdly analytical picture of Cambridge politics and politicians.

While working for the *Chronicle*, Dan became convinced that a free-distribution newspaper could be a success in Cambridge. He lived in Melrose and was fond of pointing to the *Melrose Free Press* as an example of the kind of publication that could succeed here.

The *Chronicle* then had a paid circulation of some five or six thousand copies. This circulation, although consisting of loyal readers, was not large enough to meet the advertising needs of many of the bigger Cambridge stores. Dan Fuller believed that a free-distribution newspaper with a much larger circulation would attract enough advertising to pay the cost of producing the newspaper and a profit as well.

He discussed these ideas with his friend and fellow Melrose resident, William A. Dole, Jr., who had gained a knowledge of the printing business as a salesman for the Murray Printing Company, then located in Cambridge. Mr. Dole, a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1918, was enterprising, intelligent, and gregarious. He was looking for a business opportunity and was receptive to the idea of starting a newspaper in Cambridge.

On September 5, 1930, the two men, as partners, published the first

issue of the *Cambridge Sun*. Although started in the depths of a serious business depression and backed only by the limited life savings of the partners, the new publication showed a steady growth. Each partner had abilities that complemented those of the other. Mr. Fuller handled the news and editorial end of the paper, while Mr. Dole, an energetic salesman, concentrated on the advertising. Less than five years later they were doing so well that they were able to buy the *Chronicle* and merge it with the *Sun*.

Although serious about his duties as an editor, Dan Fuller could never keep his sense of humor from breaking through. His headline at the time Al Smith overwhelmingly carried Cambridge in a presidential election read:

HOOVER HURRICANE MISSES CAMBRIDGE

He once printed the picture of a pinched-faced Cambridge city councillor above the caption "Yon Cassius." And the week before a referendum vote on the city manager form of government for Cambridge, his leading headline read:

PLAN E OR NOT TO BE,
THAT IS THE QUESTION

Incidentally, the *Chronicle-Sun* under his editorship was an original supporter of the Plan E form of government, and a champion of other constructive measures for a better Cambridge.

Because of his wisdom and knowledge of the city, his advice was regularly sought by public officials, social agencies, business and professional men, young people pondering the next step in their careers, and leaders in such public-spirited organizations as the League of Women Voters and the Public School Association. Although his own job was a busy and exacting one, he was always patient and unhurried in listening to other peoples' problems. His advice was both practical and far-sighted and invariably seasoned with his delightful sense of humor.

In his quiet, unassuming way, Dan Fuller was about as independent as they come. He refused to attend parties which one of the Cambridge mayors gave for newspapermen. He argued that it might put him under obligation to the mayor and sway the objectivity of his reporting.

When he was city editor of the *Chronicle*, he argued for half an hour with two city officials before he agreed to be their guest at a Harvard-

Yale game. He loved football and was eager to see the game, but before he accepted the invitation he warned his hosts that "sometime I may have to criticize you in the paper just the same."

As editor of the *Sun* he once wrote an editorial that incurred the ire of a mayor and cost the paper hundreds of dollars' worth of city advertising. He never expressed any regret at having written it.

In November, 1939, a serious illness forced Dan Fuller to retire as editor of the *Chronicle-Sun*. A note he left for his successor read in part: "Open any mail which comes addressed to me. I think all the skeletons in my closet have disintegrated. I hope so anyway."

He died June 17, 1941, at his home in Melrose, less than a month after the death of Editor C. Burnside Seagrave. Dan was fifty-seven years old. He left his wife, the former Mabelle N. Sargent, and a married daughter, Nancy.

ANNUAL REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1954

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY holds its fiftieth annual meeting tonight and it seems appropriate that we remind ourselves of the purpose of this Society as outlined in the Charter of 1905, namely, "promoting interest and research in relation to the history of Cambridge." The thirty-four volumes of Proceedings cover aspects of Cambridge life during the past three centuries. These contain many of the papers read at meetings of the Society. We are indebted to our present editor, Mr. John Walden, for the excellence of his work.

During 1954 we have been very fortunate in the diversity and quality of the papers presented, all of them by members of the Society. At the January 1954 annual meeting Mrs. Laura Dudley Saunderson read a paper "Forty Years in the Fogg Museum." The meeting was held in the museum, which provided the only appropriate setting for the reading of this paper. Mrs. Saunderson paid tribute to the devoted and able leadership of the people who have developed this outstanding museum, with special honor paid to Mr. Edward Forbes. Mrs. Saunderson's own part in the life of the museum has been considerable and her carefully drawn picture proved of real interest to her audience.

The spring meeting went back to the Harvard Faculty Club. Mr. John W. Wood read a paper which contrasted pleasantly with the first, a colorful and entertaining picture of "Cambridgeport, A Brief History." He sketched the region and traced the biographies of a number of outstanding men and women born in the neighborhood who have had a respected place in science, business, literature, and a variety of important

professions. We hope that Mr. Wood may soon have ready a similar brief history of East Cambridge.

The June meeting was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Philip P. Sharples. Mr. Cecil Thayer Derry read a paper of unusual interest to a large audience, many of whom had been pupils in the school he described. The paper was called "Pages from the History of the Cambridge High and Latin School," and in it Mr. Derry presented much interesting early history as well as several memorable biographical sketches of teachers well known to members of the Society in their school years.

The autumn meeting was unique and has been described by many present as the most delightful in recent years. Mr. Pottinger presented a paper which he entitled "I, too, in Arcadia." To describe it as reminiscences of his years in Cambridge gives a suggestion of the quality of this paper. Since it covered years in which this Society has grown, it made a perfect closing piece for the first half century of this organization.

We are very grateful to our speakers, to the members who have served on the hospitality committees, and to Mr. and Mrs. Sharples, who welcomed us to their house for the June garden party.

We have received with sorrow announcement of the death of several members during the past year.

We have accepted with regret the resignation of a number of members for reasons including illness and removal from Cambridge.

Through the careful management of our Vice-President, Mr. Pottinger, new members have been added to keep our membership strong and within the limit decided upon by the Council. The lists are published in the Proceedings.

Respectfully submitted,

ROSAMOND COOLIDGE HOWE
Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1955

THIS YEAR has marked the mid-century point of the Cambridge Historical Society. The Fiftieth Annual Meeting took place a year ago tonight, Tuesday, January 25, 1955, at the Harvard Faculty Club, Mr. John W. Wood, Second Vice-President presiding. The guests were received by Mr. and Mrs. Gage Bailey and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Cushman.

Mr. Ashton Sanborn presented the slate of officers for the year 1955 for the nominating committee, of which the Reverend Henry Washburn was chairman, Mr. Sanborn and Mrs. Dows Dunham the other members. Judge Walcott had requested that his resignation be accepted, a request which was honored, with deep appreciation expressed for the twenty-seven years of service he gave as President of the Society. By unanimous vote he was elected permanent Honorary President. Mr. David T. Pottinger, the Third Vice-President, was elected to succeed Judge Walcott.

Annual reports were given by the Secretary, Treasurer, Editor, and Curator.

The address of the evening was the "Story of the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge" given by Dean Charles L. Taylor. It was a notable paper and set a high standard which was successfully met by the other speakers in the series of meetings in this fiftieth birthday year.

The April meeting honored Radcliffe College. Mrs. John M. Maguire, college historian, prepared a paper entitled "The Curtain Raiser to the Founding of Radcliffe College." This was a report of her research into the early efforts of Harvard professors to make available higher education for women even before the work of Mr. Arthur Gilman. Hers was a scholarly paper and worthy of the Radcliffe historian. The college was fittingly represented also by the hospitality committee, President and Mrs. Wilbur K. Jordan, Mr. and Mrs. Henry J. Winslow, and Mr. and Mrs. Hollis G. Gerrish. Radcliffe alumnae, Miss Marion Lansing and Miss Carol Smith, served the refreshments.

The June meeting paid honor to a neighboring institution, the Museum of Science. Mr. Bradford Washburn, the director, gave us a very

entertaining talk and demonstration assisted by members of his staff. His title, "The New Science Museum," included an introductory description of the early days of the museum, its physical expansion, and the story of its development to the present time. A delighted audience explored the exhibits and found refreshments served in a gallery surrounded by the scientific material which is displayed to thousands of museum visitors, children and adults. We were welcomed by the Reverend Henry B. Washburn, Miss Mabel Colgate, and Mr. and Mrs. David Pottinger. Mrs. Roger Clapp and Mrs. Arthur Beane poured tea at this our one annual afternoon meeting.

The final meeting of 1955 brought to a high point a series which had been deliberately planned to honor several important institutions. The trustees of Longfellow House made us welcome in October. We were received by Dr. and Mrs. Robert Ganz and Mr. Thomas de Valcourt. The paper was entitled "The Young Women's Christian Association in Cambridge" and was given by a member of the Cambridge board, Mrs. James Donovan. In the one hundredth year of the National Association the Cambridge branch is justly proud of its service to women since 1891, and Mrs. Donovan's paper was a distinguished and charming report. A large audience of members and their guests showed their interest in the Cambridge YWCA, and two members of the Cambridge board poured coffee and chocolate afterward, Mrs. William C. Greene and Mrs. Walter G. O'Neil.

The Council of this Society has held three important meetings this year, during which time a plan for rotation in office of members was under discussion. Mrs. Clifford Holland was the author of the proposed schedule, and with minor changes her plan has been adopted by the Council as a guide, or line of procedure, to "keep the present stability for its officers but also to open up the Council so that more members may participate."

Each nominating committee will be guided by this plan. This year we shall have three new councillors at large. We are very grateful to the three members whose terms expire tonight for their interest and support of the Society, Miss Katharine Crothers, Mr. Dudley Clapp, and Mr. C. Conrad Wright.

This year we have accepted with regret the resignation of four members. We note with sorrow the death of Miss Lillian Abbot, Miss Mar-

ion Abbott, Mrs. Susan Gould Durant, Mrs. Mabel Macleod Hammond, and Miss Alice Thorp. We have added seven new members. Our total membership remains two hundred fifty-four.

Respectfully submitted,

ROSAMOND COOLIDGE HOWE
Secretary

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1954

Cash Balance January 1, 1954		\$2,182.72
Dues	\$1,288.00	
Guest Fees	17.15	
Sale of Proceedings	3.30	
Bowen Fund	87.45	1,395.90
		<hr/>
		\$3,578.62
Printing and Stationery	\$ 126.18	
Clerical and Postage	191.61	
Vault Rental	10.00	
Life Membership Fund	125.00	
Cost of Meetings	429.22	
Vol. 33 Proceedings 1949-50	1,260.14	
Bay State Historical League	4.00	
Bank Service charges	1.50	
¾ shares Second National Bank (Bowen Fund)	87.45	2,235.10
		<hr/>
Cash Balance December 31, 1954		<u>\$1,343.52</u>

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1955

Cash Balance January 1, 1955		\$ 1,343.52
Dues	\$1,272.00	
Guest Fees	42.74	
Sale of Proceedings	15.52	
Bowen Fund	8,314.08	9,644.34
		<hr/>
		\$10,987.86
Printing and Stationery	100.26	
Clerical and Postage	181.24	
Vault Rental	10.00	
Life Membership Fund	50.00	
Cost of Meetings	527.57	
Vols. 34, 35 Proceedings 1951-54	2,034.37	
Bay State Historical League	4.00	
Bowen Fund	7,814.08	10,721.52
		<hr/>
Cash Balance 12/31/55		<u><u>\$266.34</u></u>

Maria Bowen Fund

<i>Investments</i>	<i>Book Value 1/1/55</i>	<i>Cash Income Rec'd</i>	<i>Purchases and With- drawals</i>	<i>Book Value 12/31/55</i>	<i>Account to which Income was Credited</i>
95 shs. 1st Nat'l Bank	\$ 3,730.79	\$ 256.50		\$ 3,730.79	Camb. Sav. Bank
50 shs. State St. Trust Co.	2,920.60	37.50	(\$ 2,920.60)	0	Camb. Sav. Bank
32 shs. 2nd Nat'l Bank	3,212.45	32.00	(3,212.45)	0	Camb. Sav. Bank
125 shs. 2nd Bank St.*		243.75	6,132.45	6,049.05	Camb. Sav. Bank
117 shs. Mer. Nat'l Bank†	3,290.00	172.65	(83.40)		
50 shs. Gulf State Util.		72.50	681.10	3,971.10	Camb. Sav. Bank
50 shs. Middle South Util.			1,732.63	1,732.63	Camb. Sav. Bank
50 shs. Central & South West		56.25	1,745.55	1,745.55	Camb. Sav. Bank
50 shs. Virginia Electric & Power		50.50	1,776.99	1,776.99	Camb. Sav. Bank
Cambridge Savings Bank	8,684.18	77.50	1,877.81	1,877.81	Camb. Sav. Bank
Camb p't Savings Bank	2,179.19	164.41	(7,814.08)	1,617.06	Camb. Sav. Bank
E. Camb. Savings Bank	2,162.35	71.39	(500.00) ‡	2,250.58	Camb p't Sav. Bank
		59.87	83.40	2,222.22	E. Camb. Sav. Bank
	<u>\$26,178.96</u>	<u>\$1,294.82</u>	<u>\$ —500.00</u>	<u>\$26,973.78</u>	

* Merger of State Street Trust Co.
and 2nd Nat'l Bank Stock dividend of 43 shares.

† 10 for 1 split subscribed to 17 shares

‡ Advance to general cash

<i>Life Membership Fund</i>			
Cambridge Savings Bank	\$ 1,497.41	\$ 49.05	\$ 50.00
		<i>Historic Houses</i>	
Cambridge Savings Bank	\$ 3,827.87	\$ 125.40	
		<i>Elizabeth E. Dana Bequest</i>	
Cambridge Trust Company	\$ 237.71	\$ 1.19	\$ (238.90)
Cambridge Savings Bank		\$.64	\$ 238.90
		<i>Frank Gaylord Cook Bequest</i>	
Cambridge Savings Bank	\$ 1,169.21	\$ 38.31	
		<i>Frances Fowler Fund</i>	
Cambridge Savings Bank	\$ 0		\$ 500.00
	<u>\$ 6,732.20</u>	<u>\$ 214.59</u>	<u>\$ 550.00</u>
			<u>\$ 7,496.79</u>
			Book Value of Funds \$ 34,470.57
			Total Income \$ 1,509.41

JOHN T. G. NICHOLS, *Treasurer*

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1955, 1956

*Marion Stanley Abbot
 *Lillian Abbott
 Margaret Wilder (Mrs. P. F.) Alles
 Paul Frost Alles
 Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. C.) Almy
 Mary Almy
 Harriet Hastings (Mrs. O. I.) Ames
 James Barr Ames
 Mary Ogden (Mrs. J. B.) Ames
 Oakes Ingalls Ames
 John Bradshaw Atkinson
 Louise Marie (Mrs. J. B.) Atkinson
 Catherine Smith (Mrs. D. W.) Bailey
 David Washburn Bailey
 Ellen Nealley (Mrs. G.) Bailey
 Gage Bailey
 Helen Diman (Mrs. I. W.) Bailey
 Alethea Pew (Mrs. E. J.) Barnard
 Edmund Johnson Barnard
 (L) Mary Emory Batchelder
 (L) Ruth Richards (Mrs. A.) Beane
 Florence Barrett (Mrs. R.) Beatley
 Ralph Beatley
 Pierre Belliveau
 **Marion Gordon (Mrs. M. B.) Bever
 **Michael Berliner Bever
 Helen Thomas (Mrs. H. L.) Blackwell
 Howard Lane Blackwell
 Frank Aloysius Kenney Boland
 Velma Louise Gibson (Mrs. F. A. K.)
 Boland
 Charles Stephen Bolster
 Elizabeth Winthrop (Mrs. C. S.) Bolster

Sylvia Church (Mrs. I.) Bowditch
 Laura Post (Mrs. S. A.) Breed
 *Jessie Waterman (Mrs. Wm. F.) Brooks
 Martha Thacher Brown
 Mary MacArthur (Mrs. K.) Bryan
 Eleanor Sheridan (Mrs. D. E.) Burr
 Douglas Bush
 Hazel Cleaver (Mrs. D.) Bush
 Bernice Cannon
 Paul DeWitt Caskey
 Ruth Blackman (Mrs. P. D.) Caskey
 Louise Fletcher (Mrs. C. L.) Chase
 Dudley Clapp
 *Elizabeth Neill (Mrs. D.) Clapp
 Roger Saunders Clapp
 Winifred Irwin (Mrs. R. S.) Clapp
 Arthur Harrison Cole
 Anna Steckel (Mrs. A. H.) Cole
 (L) Mabel Hall Colgate
 Marie Schneider Conant
 Theresa Reynolds (Mrs. J. L.) Coolidge
 Phyllis Byrne (Mrs. G.) Cox
 Abby Chandler (Mrs. J. F.) Crocker
 John Franklin Crocker
 Martha Crocker
 Katharine Foster Crothers
 Esther Lamman (Mrs. R. A.) Cushman
 Robert Adams Cushman
 Sally Adams (Mrs. C. F.) Cushman
 Helen Winthrop Daugherty
 Gardiner Mumford Day
 *Katherine Monroe Day
 Thomas Henri DeValcourt

* Died
 ** Resigned

(A) Associate member
 (L) Life member

- Cecil Thayer Derry
 Frank Currier Doble
 Helen Dadmun (Mrs. F. C.) Doble
 James Donovan
 Frances Cooper-Marshall (Mrs. J.)
 Donovan
 Elizabeth Flagg (Mrs. S.) Dow
 George Lincoln Dow
 Arthur Drinkwater
 Dows Dunham
 Marion Jessie (Mrs. D.) Dunham
 Aldrich Durant
 (A) Ethel Harding (Mrs. F. C.) Durant
 Faith Lanman Hine (Mrs. A.) Durant
 *Susan Gould (Mrs. A.) Durant
 Eleanor Clark (Mrs. O.) Earle
 Osborne Earle
 Walter Frank Earle
 (A) Alvin Clark Eastman
 Charles William Eliot, 2nd
 Elizabeth Lee (Mrs. F. M.) Eliot
 Frederick May Eliot
 **Marion Eliot
 Regina Dodge (Mrs. C. W.) Eliot
 Frances White (Mrs. Wm.) Emerson
 Mary Fife (Mrs. L. E.) Emerson
 William Emerson
 Mary Lillian (Mrs. R. C.) Evarts
 Richard Conover Evarts
 Pearl Brock Fabrney
 Claire (Mrs. P.) Faude
 Eleanor Tyson Cope (Mrs. H. W.)
 Foote
 Henry Wilder Foote
 Edward Waldo Forbes
 Lois Whitney (Mrs. A. B.) Forbes
 Alden Simonds Foss
 Dorothy Tenney (Mrs. A. S.) Foss
 (A) Francis Apthorp Foster
 Ingeborg Gade Frick
 Claire MacIntyre (Mrs. R. N.) Ganz
 Robert Norton Ganz
 Alice Howland (Mrs. H. G.) Garrett
 Catherine Ruggles (Mrs. H. G.) Gerrish
 Hollis Guphill Gerrish
 Henry Latbrop Gilbert
 Priscilla Brown (Mrs. H. L.) Gilbert
 Roger Gilman
 Dusser de Barenne (Mrs. J. D.) Greene
 Jerome Davis Greene
 Margaret Eckfeldt (Mrs. Wm. C.)
 Greene
 William Chase Greene
 (L) Helen McQuesten (Mrs. P.) Gring
 Lillian Helen (Mrs. T.) Hadley
 Edward Everett Hale
 Helen Holmes (Mrs. E. E.) Hale
 Constance Huntington Hall
 Henry Magnus Halvorson
 Janet Matthews (Mrs. H. M.) Halvorson
 Catherine Russell (Mrs. F. T., Jr.) Ham-
 mond
 Franklin Tweed Hammond
 Franklin Tweed Hammond, Jr.
 *Mabel MacLeod (Mrs. F. T.) Ham-
 mond
 Charles Lane Hanson
 Mary Caroline Hardy
 *Truman Davis Hayes
 Christina Doyle (Mrs. R. H.) Haynes
 Robert Hammond Haynes
 Florence Wilhelmina (Mrs. N.) Heard
 Lucy Gregory (Mrs. R. G.) Henderson
 Robert Graham Henderson
 Albert Frederick Hill
 Georgiana Ames (Mrs. T. L.) Hinckley
 Eleanor Holmes Hinkley
 Janet Elliott (Mrs. R. B.) Hobart
 Richard Bryant Hobart
 Elizabeth Chandler (Mrs. E. W.)
 Hockley
 Anna Coolidge Davenport (Mrs. C. M.)
 Holland
 George Wright Howe
 Lois Lilley Howe
 Rosamond Coolidge (Mrs. G. W.)
 Howe
 Eda Woolson (Mrs. B. S.) Hurlbut
 Elsie Powell (Mrs. E.) Ingraham
 Dorothy Judd (Mrs. Wm. A.) Jackson
 Pauline Fay (Mrs. A. L.) Jackson
 William Alexander Jackson
 Louis Leventhal Jaffe
 Mildred Miles (Mrs. L. L.) Jaffe
 (L) Constance Bouwe (Mrs. H. A.)
 Jenks

(L) Henry Angier Jenks
 Ethel Robinson (Mrs. W. S.) Jones
 Llewellyn Jones
 Susan Wilbur (Mrs. L.) Jones
 Wallace St. Clair Jones
 Frances Ruml (Mrs. W. K.) Jordan
 Wilbur Kitchener Jordan
 Albert Guy Keith
 (L) Theodora Keith
 Louise Higgins Langenberg
 Rowena Morse (Mrs. Wm. L.) Langer
 William Leonard Langer
 Marion Florence Lansing
 (A) Susan Taber Low
 **John Aleck Lunn
 **Susan Williams (Mrs. J. A.) Lunn
 **Frank Lyman, Jr.
 **Jeanne (Mrs. F., Jr.) Lyman
 Dorothy St. John Manks
 Gustavus Howard Maynadier
 Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K. D.) Metcalf
 Keyes DeWitt Metcalf
 Helen Bonney (Mrs. H.) Montgomery
 Alva Morrison
 Amy Gallagber (Mrs. A.) Morrison
 James Buell Munn
 Ruth Crosby Hanford (Mrs. J. B.) Munn
 Mary Liscomb (Mrs. H. A.) Nealley
 Elizabeth Flint (Mrs. F. H.) Nesmith
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 Mary Beaumont (Mrs. E. B.) Newman
 Emily Alan Smith (Mrs. J. T. G.)
 Nichols
 John Taylor Gilman Nichols
 Edward Wentworth Norris
 Emma Salom (Mrs. E. W.) Norris
 Grace Wyeth (Mrs. A. P.) Norris
 Penelope Barker Noyes
 Joseph A. O'Gorman
 Isabel Marchant (Mrs. W. G.) O'Neil
 Walter George O'Neil
 Doris Madelyn (Mrs. F. M.) Palmer
 Foster McCruin Palmer
 Nancy Johnson (Mrs. S. B.) Parker
 Stanley Bampton Parker
 Frederica Watson (Mrs. Wm. L.) Payson
 William Lincoln Payson
 Barbara Welch (Mrs. E.) Peabody

(L) Bradford Hendrick Peirce
 Marion Hilton Pike
 Elizabeth Bridge Piper
 Mary Friedlander (Mrs. J. S.) Plaut
 (L) Bremer Wbidden Pond
 Lucy Kingsley (Mrs. A. K.) Porter
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 Mary Clement Parker (Mrs. H. W.)
 Read
 Fred Norris Robinson
 George Irwin Robrbough
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 Ruth Hibbard (Mrs. A. S.) Romer
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 Paul Joseph Sachs
 Charles Rodney Sage
 Marjorie Llewellyn (Mrs. C. R.) Sage
 Edward Joseph Samp, Jr.
 Agnes Goldman (Mrs. A.) Sanborn
 Cyrus Ashton Rollins Sanborn
 Henry Hallam Saunderson
 Laura Dudley (Mrs. H. H.) Saunderson
 Erwin Haskell Schell
 Esther Sidelinger (Mrs. E. H.) Schell
 (L) Edgar Vigers Seeler, Jr.
 (L) Katherine PerLee (Mrs. E. V., Jr.)
 Seeler
 Eugenia Jackson (Mrs. P. P.) Sharples
 Philip Price Sharples
 **Helen Davis (Mrs. W.) Shumway
 Carol Mary Smith
 Clement Andrew Smith
 Edna Stevenson Smith
 (L) Margaret Beal Earhart (Mrs. C. A.)
 Smith
 William Stevenson Smith
 Livingston Stebbins
 Arthur Engene Sutherland
 Susanne Adams (Mrs. A. E.) Sutherland
 Ellamae McKee (Mrs. W. D.) Swan
 William Donnison Swan
 Charles Lincoln Taylor
 Hannah Chamberlin (Mrs. C. L.) Taylor
 Helen Ingersoll Tetlow

*Alice Allegra Thorp
 (L) Eleanor Gray (Mrs. H. D.) Tudor
 (L) Mary Wellington (Mrs. K. S.) Usber
 Mabel Henderson (Mrs. W. E.) Vander-
 mark
 Elizabeth Perry Stevens (Mrs. F. A.)
 Vaughan
 *Robert Walcott
 John Reed Walden
 Olive Ely Allen (Mrs. F. D.) Wash-
 burn
 Henry Bradford Washburn
 Harriet Eaton (Mrs. T. N.) Whitehead
 Thomas North Whitehead
 Jane Revere Coolidge (Mrs. W. M.)
 Whitehill
 Walter Muir Whitehill

Charles Frederick Whiting
 Constance Bigelow Williston
 Grace Davenport (Mrs. H. J.) Winslow
 Henry Joshua Winslow
 Henry Wise
 Pearl (Mrs. H.) Wise
 Mary Andrews (Mrs. R. L.) Wolff
 Robert Lee Wolff
 Alice Russell (Mrs. J. W.) Wood
 (A) John Russell Wood
 John William Wood
 Charles Conrad Wright
 Charles Henry Conrad Wright
 Elizabeth Hilgendorff (Mrs. C. C.)
 Wright
 Elizabeth Woodman (Mrs. C. H. C.)
 Wright

BY-LAWS

As adopted 17 June 1905, with amendments to 24 April 1956

I. CORPORATE NAME

The name of this corporation shall be "The Cambridge Historical Society."

II. OBJECT

The Corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

Any resident of, or person having a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, or any town or city within twenty-five miles of the city limits of said Cambridge, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon payment of the current fees.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred and twenty-five.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Any person nominated by the Council may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

An indefinite number of associate members may be elected provided that such candidates are not eligible for Regular Membership as defined in Article III of these By-laws. Nominations for Associate Membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate Members shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL

The seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII. OFFICERS

The officers of this Corporation shall be a Council of fourteen members, having the powers of Directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, an Editor, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. DUTY OF SECRETARY

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. DUTY OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts of the Corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts

made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties; but he may be excused from giving such bond, by majority vote of the Council. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. DUTY OF EDITOR

The Editor shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the preparation for the press of the Society's proceedings and of their printing, publication, and distribution, as well as of the printing and distribution of other pamphlets and books issued by the Society for general circulation.

XIII. DUTY OF CURATOR

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. DUTY OF COUNCIL

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for the meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for Honorary Membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XV. MEETINGS

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in January in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of April and October of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XVI. QUORUM

At meetings of the Society ten members and at meetings of the Council four members shall constitute a quorum.

XVII. FEES

The amount of the annual assessment for regular and associate members shall be fixed from time to time by majority vote of the Council; and this assessment shall be payable in advance at the Annual Meeting. But any regular member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission, he shall pay into the Treasury One Hundred Dollars in addition

to his previous payments, and any Associate member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Fifty Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVIII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XIX. DISSOLUTION

If at any time the active membership falls below ten, this Society may be dissolved at the written request of three members, according to the laws and statutes of this Commonwealth.

XX. DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY UPON DISSOLUTION

Upon dissolution of the Society, the books, manuscripts, collections, the invested and other funds of the Society, and such other property as it may have, shall be transferred to such institution or institutions doing similar work as may seem best to the members of the Society.

XXI. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS

These By-laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PUBLICATIONS, VOLUME ~~36~~ 37

Proceedings for the Years 1957-58



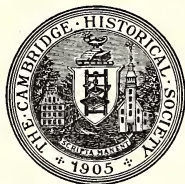
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1959

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PUBLICATIONS, VOLUME 36

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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF
THE SERVICES TO THIS SOCIETY OF

David Thomas Pottinger

DECEMBER 25, 1884 — NOVEMBER 30, 1958

EDITOR 1929-1940

SECRETARY 1942-1943, 1948-1952

VICE-PRESIDENT 1953-1954

PRESIDENT 1955-1958

AND OF

John Taylor Gilman Nichols

OCTOBER 12, 1877 — DECEMBER 9, 1958

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL 1927-1933

TREASURER 1941-1956

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS FOR THE YEARS 1957-58

LIST OF OFFICERS FOR THESE TWO YEARS

President: Mr. David T. Pottinger
Honorary Vice-President: Miss Lois Lilley Howe
Vice-Presidents: Mr. John W. Wood
Miss Penelope B. Noyes
Mr. William L. Payson
Treasurer: Mr. Oakes I. Ames
Secretary: Mrs. Anna Davenport Holland
Curator: Mrs. Laura Dudley Howe
Editor: Mr. John R. Walden

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

The foregoing and the following:

1957

Mr. Roger S. Clapp
Mrs. Dorothy Tenney Foss
Mr. Arthur E. Sutherland
Mrs. Elinor Gregory Metcalf
Mrs. Hazel Cleaver Bush
Mr. George I. Rohrbough

1958

* Mr. Frederick M. Eliot
Mrs. Hazel Cleaver Bush
Miss Mabel H. Colgate
Mr. Robert H. Haynes
Mrs. Dorothy Tenney Foss
Mr. George I. Rohrbough
Mr. Ashton Sanborn

* Died

NOTES ON SOME TORY ROW LAND TITLES

BY WILLIAM L. PAYSON

Read January 29, 1957

SOME years ago I examined title to the property 12 Berkeley Street for purchase by Mr. Sutherland. After I had done this and he had purchased the property, and I had rendered him an opinion setting forth in what I conceived to be sufficient detail the condition of the title which he had acquired, he suggested to me that it would be fitting and appropriate if I would prepare a history of the property from the earliest times to the then present date, fully setting forth who the various owners were and their claims to distinction. He assured me that when he was in private practice it was his invariable custom to provide such a history. That put it right up to me. I had carried the title back only some eighty years, a period which the Bar in most cases hereabouts deems more than sufficient. I had little idea what the owners during this period did, in fact I did not conceive it a legitimate object of my concern. Fortunately in this case the seller had turned over to me a sizeable file of deeds and opinions. I assuaged my conscience by delivering these to him in the hope that by the time he had deciphered and digested these his curiosity would be satisfied.

Last spring Mr. Sutherland called me and said it would be nice if I should prepare and read a paper to this group on Cambridge land titles. Of course my first idea was to persuade him that the idea was deplorable. I suggested that it had been done before. He said it hadn't. My second thought was that the subject was very dull. He assured me it is fascinating. My answer to that was that though he and I might find ancient titles fascinating most people wouldn't and that the idea was poor. Well, as you can observe, he prevailed.

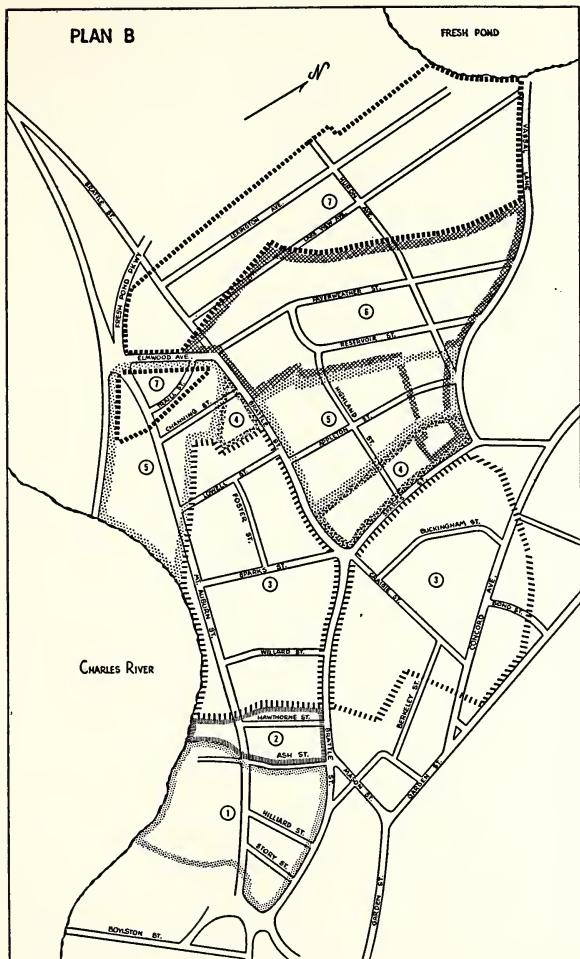
I am not going to discuss all Cambridge land titles but am limiting this paper to a consideration of seven of the large estates as they existed in the latter part of the eighteenth century in the general area bounded by Harvard Square, the Charles River, Fresh Pond Parkway, Huron Avenue, and Garden Street. I shall bring them down to the time when they were cut up into house lots.

[illegible]

FRESH POND

PLAN B

FRESH POND



Any consideration of these requires a consideration of the terrain and the roadways as they then existed. Plan A shows the area in question with the then landmarks. You will notice on this the road from Charlestown to Watertown, coming across the Common, down what is now Mason Street, along Brattle Street to Elmwood Avenue, down Elmwood Avenue to Mount Auburn Street, and thence along Mount Auburn Street. A creek extended from about where Winthrop House now is up to Brattle Square and beyond. This was widened by Governor Dudley in 1631 as far as South Street to twelve feet deep and seven feet wide. The account does not tell whether the depth was at high or low tide. The Town Spring was pretty close to where Brattle Hall now is. There was a lane extending from Brattle Square to the Watertown Road at what is now the corner of Mason and Brattle Streets. Ash Street was then called Windmill Lane after a windmill built in very earliest times on a height of land over the river. According to Governor Winthrop, this windmill was moved to Boston in 1632 because it was found that it would grind only when the wind was from the west. It is hard to see why this was a disadvantage: at this location the wind is almost always down river and from the west. At the foot of Windmill Lane was the brick wharf used by the Brattles and Vassalls. The south side of the road to Watertown, from Longfellow Park to about Lowell Street, was all salt marsh bisected by a creek which had its source on the other side of the highway. The road to Fresh Pond extended from the corner of Sparks Street and Brattle Street, along Sparks Street to Huron Avenue, along Huron Avenue to Vassall Lane, and thence to the pond. There was a hill called Simon's Hill about where the Home for the Aged and the Morrill Wyman House are now located. Southwesterly of Simon's Hill was a way to the landing and ferry over the river. That portion of the area above described westerly of the road to Fresh Pond extending to the river was, prior to 1754, part of Watertown.

Plan B shows the seven estates I am going to discuss superimposed upon a map of this part of Cambridge as it now appears. The outlines are as of the times when these estates had their greatest areas. You will notice that in places they impinge on one another. Neighbors in those days bought and sold land quite as much as today.

I must add that this is not a scholarly effort. To do the job adequately

would take many months of concentrated research. I have endeavored to synthesize matters with which I am sure you are already familiar. I gratefully acknowledge assistance from my law firm's voluminous Title Library and to my wife for her painstaking work in the fusty atmosphere of the Middlesex South District Registry of Deeds. That portion dealing with Elmwood is far better covered by Mrs. Porter in her scholarly and entertaining paper read before this Society on May 31, 1949.

THE BRATTLE ESTATE

The Brattle estate, numbered 1 on Plan B, was in part inherited by William Brattle and in part assembled by him and by his son, Thomas Brattle, out of a number of relatively small holdings. In the latter part of the eighteenth century it was the show place of New England, extending from Windmill Lane, or Bath Lane as it was later called, to the Town Spring, and extending from the road to the river. The overflow from the spring formed a good-sized pond with an island in the middle. It was surrounded by rare and beautiful trees and shrubs interspersed with statues. A mall or walk was laid out through the grounds where the younger people were said to congregate.

The house, now housing the Cambridge Center of Adult Education, was built by General William Brattle shortly after his marriage in 1727. William Brattle was the son of the Reverend William Brattle, minister of the First Church in Cambridge and nephew of Thomas Brattle, at one time Treasurer of Harvard College, and heir to the not inconsiderable wealth of his father and uncle. He graduated from Harvard in 1722, ranking at the head of his class, not academically, but in order of social priority. He was a jack of all trades but a master of none. At one time or another he was a parson, a physician, and a lawyer, but was not a success at any of these professions. One writer described him as a "man of universal superficial knowledge." He held many public offices — selectman of Cambridge for twenty-one terms, captain and later major of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, member of the House of Representatives, Overseer of Harvard College, and Attorney General of the Province. His wealth was invested for the most part in real estate, both in Boston and Cambridge and on the frontiers. He took so many mortgages and personal notes that he had

special forms printed for himself. Perhaps his greatest success was in the military field, finally rising to Major General of the Province, though he was commonly known as Brigadier Brattle.

Politically Brattle was an ardent Whig in the 1760's, so ardent that in 1769 Governor Bernard "disallowed" his election by the Legislature to the Council. By 1773 he decided that political agitation and legal metaphysics were driving the colony into civil strife and more likely to produce evil than good. He joined Hutchinson in his last reviews of the militia, and it was said that he performed his part "with great propriety, though accompanied with some degree of pomposity." In July, 1774, under orders from General Gage he cooperated with him in withdrawing ammunition from the Medford Powder House, which was under his command, to the Castle. The Brigadier's correspondence with Gage somehow came into the hands of the patriots and was printed in the *Boston Gazette*. Popular pressure persuaded Brattle that it was time to leave. He took saddle and rode to Boston. Before he reached the Brighton Bridge shots were fired at him. He remained in Boston until the evacuation. By deed dated December 13, 1774, he conveyed "all and every part of" his real estate in Cambridge "whether the same lies in the first or second parish or both" to his son Thomas Brattle for £1500. After the Battle of Lexington the mob plundered the cellars of the Cambridge house and the Provincial Congress took over the remaining stores. Brigadier Brattle died in Halifax in October, 1776.

During the siege of Boston the mansion house served as quarters for Thomas Mifflin, Commissary-General of the army. After the armies left, William Brattle's daughter, Katherine Wendell, moved in. William Brattle's property in Boston and elsewhere was confiscated, but through Mrs. Wendell's efforts, it is said, the Cambridge property was saved.

Thomas Brattle, William Brattle's son, a Harvard graduate of 1760, sat out the American Revolution in England. It was said that his sympathies were with the Whigs, and that while in England he did much to alleviate the plight of American prisoners. Be that as it may, his behavior for a Whig was a bit unusual. On May 10, 1775, in company with William Vassall, no Whig, he sailed for Nantucket and thence to England. In 1779 he left England and went to Rhode Island, where he remained until 1784. By that time the popular indignation against his father had somewhat subsided. He was able to return to Cambridge

and take possession of his estate, which was his chief interest. He enlarged and beautified the grounds and built a bath house for students at the end of Windmill Lane. Upon his death in 1801 the property went to his grandnephews and grandnieces. Cambridge was growing. Streets were cut through the estate and it was divided up into small lots. Along Brattle Street we find the Village Smithy's Shop and the house of Joseph Storey, who for so long served concurrently as justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and Dane Professor at the Law School. Near the Corner of Ash Street was the residence of Simon Greenleaf, another Law School professor. The pond was filled in and a large square ugly hotel called the Brattle House was erected on its site. This in turn gave way to the University Press. Now we have the Touraine store there. The bath house for students eventually became the site of the Cambridge Gas Company's works, now happily replaced by the apartment houses along Memorial Drive.

It is said in *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography* that the Brattle family name is commemorated by a well-known street in Boston.

HENRY VASSALL PROPERTY

We turn next to the Henry Vassall property, numbered 2 on Plan B, bounded easterly by Windmill Lane, southerly by the river, westerly by the John Vassall land, later Longfellow's, and northerly by the road to Watertown. The house standing on it is said to be in part very old. We know there were several houses on the property in the seventeenth century. Early owners of portions of this land included Jonathan Remington, a carpenter, who in 1682 swapped his portion for the Blue Anchor Tavern, which he kept during the remainder of his life; Samuel Green, the first master printer in Cambridge; Robert Parker, a butcher, who made two payments on account of his son's tuition at Harvard "by a calf"; and Captain Andrew Belcher, a tavern-keeper who became a wealthy merchant.

Belcher's son Jonathan, one time Governor of Massachusetts and New Jersey, who is said to have climbed into high office by adroitly stepping from one issue to another, sold the property in 1719 to John Frizell, a prominent Boston merchant, who lived there while his nephew and namesake was at Harvard. John Frizell, Sr., died in 1723. Cotton

Mather thought sufficiently highly of him to deliver a sermon over him entitled "Euthanasia," the general theme being "a sudden death made happy and easy to the Dying Believer." In 1736 John Frizell the younger's widow sold most of the property to John Vassall.

John Vassall was one of the eighteen children of Major Leonard Vassall, who owned vast estates in the British West Indies and who came to Boston in 1723. John was in the Class of 1732 at Harvard. His academic career was distinguished chiefly by fines for playing cards. In 1734 he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Lieutenant Governor Spencer Phips. He inherited from his grandmother a plantation in Jamaica which was the principal source of his wealth, although his marriage was far from financially disadvantageous. He remodeled and enlarged the house he had purchased from Madam Frizell. He was a gentleman of wealth and leisure, occasionally holding town office. Along the line he acquired the titles of Major and Lieutenant Colonel. He sued one Samuel Whittemore for defamation of character for remarking that the "Major was no more fit to be selectman than the horse he rode," and lost. While a member of the Great and General Court he appealed to it to sustain his contention that an attachment against him was "a breach of the Privileges" of members of the General Court, and again he lost. Obviously he did not enjoy democracy. In 1741 he sold the house and land to his brother Henry. He went to London on a mission the real object of which it was said, was to obtain for himself the governorship of New Hampshire by appropriate corruption. The mission was not a success. One of his associates commented thus: "I suppose his miscarriage was principally owing to a feeble mind, the want of proper address and application for business and the giving himself up to pleasure."

He was back in Cambridge in 1746 with a second wife and acquired or built himself a second house. This has been variously located. One source places it on Simon's Hill about where the Home for the Aged now is. I find this hard to believe, as that land was then owned by Cornelius Waldo, a hard-headed Boston merchant, doubtless very jealous of his property rights.

John Vassall died in the following year. The probate records show six and a half acres on the north side of the road to Watertown, with the buildings thereon, and fifty acres on the south side. This land had been conveyed to him by Amos Marrett in the previous year. The land

on the north side of the road is obviously the site of the John Vassall, Jr., house, that on the south the marsh land between Longfellow Park and Lowell Street.

John Vassall's brother, Henry Vassall, was also born in the West Indies and until he was twenty years of age lived on the family estates in Jamaica. He did not go to Harvard as did some of his brothers, thus laying himself open to the suspicion that he was uneducated. As a matter of fact, this was far from the case. He appears to have been more of a leader and man of affairs than his brother John, though unfortunately dissipated and extravagant. His wife was Penelope, daughter of Isaac Royall, owner of a rich sugar plantation on the island of Antigua. She also was brought up in the West Indies. Isaac died in 1739 leaving one-half his estate to Penelope. It appears that her wealth far exceeded that of her husband. Henry represented Cambridge in the General Court, was a moderator at town meetings, and was Lieutenant Colonel in the militia. His affairs required constant trips to the West Indies. He was noted for his lavish hospitality. In spite of his adroitness in business matters he was constantly short of money, possibly because of the lavish way he lived. In 1744 he sold a plantation in Jamaica, and in 1748 mortgaged his Cambridge house to James Pitts. From then on he was constantly mortgaging or selling his and his wife's property. He died in 1769 at the age of forty-eight. Of him the old family slave, Darby, is said to have stated: "Colonel Henry Vassall was a very wicked man. He was a gamester and spent a great deal of money in cards and lived at the rate of seven years in three, and managed to run out nearly all his property. He was a severe and tart master to his people; and when he was dying asked his servants to pray for him. They answered he might pray for himself."

His widow continued in Cambridge until the start of the Revolution, when she went to Boston. From thence she went with her daughter and son-in-law to her family estates in Antigua, by then sadly depleted. The Cambridge house was seized by the Patriots and became the quarters of the Medical Department of the Continental Army. During the winter of 1777-78 it served as quarters for some of General Burgoyne's army. The Vassall house was not confiscated as was so much of the Tory property. One John Pitts, son and executor of James Pitts who held a mortgage thereon, appeared on the scene. John was a good patriot and in con-

sequence was permitted to foreclose the mortgage. In 1781 he and his brothers and sister sold the place to Nathaniel Tracy of Newburyport, a successful privateersman who made a specialty of acquiring fine houses, mostly of royalists. He is said to have owned so many of them that he could travel from Newburyport to Philadelphia sleeping every night in his own house. Tracy ultimately lost his fortune and the estate was sold to Andrew Craigie, of whom more later.

THE JOHN VASSALL, JR., ESTATE

The John Vassall, Jr., estate, numbered 3 on Plan B, had by far the greatest area of the Tory Row estates. In terms of present-day bounds, the land on the northerly side of Brattle Street included in this estate was as follows. Beginning on Brattle Street at a point twenty or so feet east of the southeast corner of the present Longfellow estate, the line followed a northeast course through land now owned by the Episcopal Theological School to Hastings Avenue, thence along Hastings Avenue and the back of the properties 12 and 16 Berkeley Street, thence along the northwest line of 16 Berkeley Street across Berkeley Street and Concord Avenue to Garden Street, thence up Garden Street thirty-eight rods. This brings us to a point a few feet short of the corner of Bond and Garden Streets. Thence the line cut across the observatory property on a diagonal to Concord Avenue, and thence to Sparks Street, following Sparks and Brattle Streets to the point of beginning. Reference is made in the deeds to a stone bridge which apparently spanned the creek which crossed the Watertown road between the Mansion House and the road to Fresh Pond.

The land on the opposite side of Brattle Street was bounded southerly by the river, easterly by the Henry Vassall property, and northerly and northwesterly by Brattle Street. Only the west and southwest lines of this parcel are at all difficult to locate. These lines followed the following course: beginning on Brattle Street at about the northeast corner of the Grozier property, running thence south by this property to its southeast corner, thence west by the same land a short distance, thence south again a short distance, thence southeast in a diagonal line to the river, reaching the river at a point somewhere between Sparks and Willard Streets.

The above descriptions are based on plans, some recorded, some not. The only measurement given in the deeds is that along Garden Street. I did not find any plan showing the northerly line of the first parcel between Garden Street and Concord Avenue.

As noted above, in 1746 John Vassall, Sr., purchased of Amos Marrett six and a half acres on the north side of the road, which includes the site of the John Vassall, Jr., house, and fifty acres on the south side. The description of the six and a half acres includes "the dwelling house and all other edifices." Amos Marrett was by occupation a glazier and farmer. He dealt largely in real estate and appeared to be a man of wealth. He and his father Edward apparently resided in a dwelling house on the six and a half acre parcel. Whether John Vassall, Sr., erected another house on this property or occupied the Marrett house I cannot determine. What happened to this house following the death of John Vassall, Sr., is a matter of conjecture. John Vassall, Jr., is said to have built the dwelling we now know as the Longfellow House "all of a piece" in 1759. Perhaps the old house burned down or was torn down. Perhaps the present house includes the old house, although the books on the subject do not so indicate. This is a problem for an architect, not a conveyancer.

John Vassall, Jr., at the time of his father's death was but nine years of age. His grandfather Phips was appointed his guardian. He graduated from Harvard in 1757, and in 1761 married Elizabeth, sister of Lieutenant Governor Oliver. He appeared to have lived the life of a country gentleman. His means obviously were ample. He greatly increased his Cambridge property, largely by purchases from Amos Marrett, and acquired a house on Tremont Street, Boston, where he lived in the winter. He interested himself mildly in Cambridge public affairs and was a Warden of Christ Church. In 1774 the Cambridge mob obliged him and his family to take refuge in Boston. He died in Clifton, England, in 1797 "almost instantaneously after eating a hearty dinner."

Following John Vassall, Jr.'s flight to Boston his house was used as quarters for troops and later for Washington's Headquarters. The property was confiscated and in 1781 sold to Nathaniel Tracy, who also, as noted above, had acquired the Henry Vassall land. After Tracy's bankruptcy the property was sold to Thomas Russell, a Boston merchant, who in turn conveyed it in 1793 to Andrew Craigie.

Mr. Craigie was Apothecary General to the Northern Department of the Revolutionary Army. He acquired a large fortune, through speculation, mostly in land. He owned not only a large part of the land in Cambridge west of Harvard Square but much of East Cambridge. In 1808 he and certain others were authorized to build a bridge from Lechmere Point to Boston. The bridge was built and he thereupon proceeded to sell, or try to sell, for \$360,000 shares in the land which, it is estimated, cost him \$20,000. He was in constant dispute with the Proprietors of the West Boston Bridge over the construction of roads, each group desiring roads serving its bridge. If the town would not build a road where Craigie wanted he went to the County Commissioners or the legislature. In 1809 a committee of the town remonstrated to the legislature that the inhabitants of Cambridge and Cambridgeport were deeply affected by the incessant machinations and intrigues of Mr. Andrew Craigie in regard to roads. Nor was he above resorting to violent methods to obstruct the construction of roads he did not want. On June 7, 1808, the town authorized the selectmen to prosecute Andrew Craigie and others for trespasses committed or which might be thereafter committed upon the new road from Gerry's Corner to Brattle's Garden (Mount Auburn Street). Once Mr. Craigie succeeded in having a road laid out over his land, he was apt in the manner of present-day speculators to ask for damages. In 1810 a jury found that he had suffered no damages for the construction of a road from Cambridge Common to Lechmere Point, now Cambridge Street.

As a lavish entertainer Craigie was a true successor to the Vassalls. Later he fell on hard times. He died in 1819 and was buried in the old tomb of the Vassall family which he had bought with the Vassall estate. His much-encumbered estate was divided among his nephews and nieces, his widow taking her dower interest in the house and the land immediately surrounding the same. On her death the house was bought by Nathan Appleton for his daughter, Mrs. Longfellow. By then the carving up of the Craigie estate was well on its way. The Henry Vassall property had been sold to Mr. Batchelder. The lower road to Watertown had been constructed. Shortly Liberty Street, now Willard Street, Union Street, now Foster Street, Sparks Street, and Lowell Street would be built on the land south of Brattle Street, Craigie Street and Buckingham

Street on the land north of Brattle Street, and the area parceled out into house lots.

THE LECHMERE PROPERTY

The Lechmere properties are numbered 4 on Plan B. The southerly portion of the main tract was bought by Richard Lechmere from John Hunt in 1761. Two months later he bought the rear parcel from Amos Marrett, son of the aforementioned Amos Marrett. The triangular parcel on the south side of the road was acquired by Thomas Lee, a later owner of the main tract, from John Andrews and Caleb Gannett, guardian of Thomas Wigglesworth. The house was built by Richard Lechmere on the north side of the road in the approximate location of the house 145 Brattle Street.

Richard Lechmere has been described both as a wealthy merchant and a wealthy distiller. It is certain that a distillery owned by him was confiscated during the Revolution. It is doubtful if this was his principal business. Lechmere's wife was a daughter of Spencer Phips. Thus he was a brother-in-law of John Vassall, Sr. Richard Lechmere sold this property to Jonathan Sewell in 1771. In 1774 Lechmere was appointed a "Mandamus Councillor." He was proscribed as a Loyalist in 1778 and died in Bristol, England, in 1814.

Jonathan Sewell was one of the more distinguished Massachusetts men of his time. He was a Harvard graduate of 1748 and a leading lawyer. He and John Hancock married sisters and he was a close friend of John Adams. Originally inclining towards the Whig side in the disputes with Great Britain, Hutchinson won him over to the Tories, possibly by making him Solicitor General of the Province. Later he became Attorney General, Advocate General, and Judge of Admiralty. John Adams said of him: "Mr. Sewell had a soft, smooth, insinuating eloquence, which gliding imperceptibly into the minds of a Jury, gave him as much power over that Tribunal as any lawyer ought to possess. He was a gentleman and a scholar, had a fund of wit, humour and satire which he used with great discretion at the bar, but poured out with unbounded profusion in the newspapers."

In September, 1774, Sewell's house was surrounded by a mob; some glass was broken but little other damage was done. He fled to Boston

and shortly after went to England. In 1788 he removed to Saint John's, New Brunswick, where he died in 1796.

Sewell's property was confiscated. During the winter of 1778-79 Baron Riedesel and his wife and family were quartered there. Judging by the Baroness's memoirs, her imprisonment there was not too irksome. In 1779 the property was sold to Thomas Lee of Pomfret, Connecticut. Lee was born in England, came to Massachusetts as a young man, and became a partner of Coffin Jones, a Boston merchant. At the start of the Revolution he left Boston and went to Norwich, Connecticut, and later to Pomfret. He is said to have sided with the Patriots, but apparently passively rather than actively. Lee occupied the house until his death in 1797. He had plenty of money and lived a life of leisure. He was called "English Thomas" to distinguish him from a neighbor also named Thomas Lee.

From then until 1805 the property was occupied by Mrs. Lee. On her death it went to Thomas's brother Benjamin Lee for life, and on his death to his son Thomas. Benjamin Lee had been in the Royal Navy and subsequently captain of a United States merchantman. In 1819 the Lees sold the property to Andrew Craigie. It was split up by the Craigie estate.

THE JOSEPH LEE ESTATE

The Joseph Lee estate, numbered 5 on Plan B, was acquired by him from several sources. Of that part north of the road to Watertown, the westerly portion was bought by him from Faith Waldo in 1758, the easterly portion from Thomas Ireland in 1783, and the back portion from Amos Marrett the younger in 1764. The part south of the road was conveyed to him by the Waldo deed.

The house on this estate, now numbered 159 Brattle Street, by one source is said to have been built in the reign of Charles II. We know that it was owned by Dr. Henry Hooper in 1721. Dr. Hooper attended President Leverett of Harvard among others. There is a bill from the good doctor to that worthy in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society which to the medically inclined may be of interest today. It helps to reconcile me to living in the twentieth rather than the eighteenth century. In 1732 Dr. Hooper conveyed the property to

Cornelius Waldo. The land south of the road to Watertown was included in this deed. There is no evidence that Waldo ever lived there. He was a well-known merchant living in Boston and dealing in real estate elsewhere if he saw a chance of profit.

Joseph Lee was a son of Thomas Lee, a substantial shipbuilder in Boston. He graduated from Harvard in 1729 and in 1755 married Rebecca, daughter of Lieutenant Governor Spencer Phips, thus becoming a brother-in-law of John Vassall, Sr., and Richard Lechmere mentioned above. He was a substantial merchant owning much real estate in Boston. He speculated in Attleborough iron mining and frontier lands. Town affairs did not interest him, but he served as Justice of the Peace, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and member of the House of Representatives. In 1773 he made an almost fatal error when he gave Jonathan Clarke, the son of his friend and classmate Richard Clarke, a letter of credit for £2000 to be invested in London. It was Richard Clarke and Son who imported the tea to Boston in that year. Fortunately for Lee the Clarks did not invest Lee's money in this enterprise. In 1774 he was appointed by the Crown to the Mandamus Council and on August 8 of that year took oath of office. On September 1, 1774, he resigned by letter to General Gage because membership exposed him "to such continued injuries and insults as I am unable to sustain." Gage accused him of quitting "on first rumor of disturbance." On the next day he was called out by the mob to the Common along with Danforth, another Councillor. The two gave the fullest assurances that they had resigned their seats and "would not act in any capacity whatever disagreeable to the people."

In the ensuing few years Lee seems to have kept away from Cambridge. He was in Philadelphia for a time, later in New Jersey. Possibly he was in Boston during the siege. He was back in Cambridge in 1777. Although he was dropped from the Bench when the Courts were reorganized, his property was not confiscated. Maybe he had his fears of this. On April 18, 1778, he conveyed his estate to James Foster, cordwainer, for £840. In September of the same year Foster reconveyed the property to him for £840. One cannot help wondering whether Lee was apprehensive and for the moment muddled the waters. He died in 1802 at the ripe age of 92. Before his death he built the house at 153 Brattle Street for his nephew Thomas Lee (not to be confused with "English

Thomas"). One's impression of Joseph Lee is that he was a gentleman, not too courageous, whose love of a peaceful existence far outweighed any political convictions he may have held.

Joseph Lee's estate went to his nephews Joseph and Thomas Lee. Joseph in turn conveyed his interest in 1803 in the Cambridge property to his brother Thomas. In 1808 Thomas conveyed the westerly part of the land north of Brattle Street, including the Joseph Lee house, to John Appleton, at one time United States Consul in Paris. Appleton in turn conveyed the house and one and three-quarters acres of land to Lee's son-in-law Benjamin Carpenter. Appleton died in 1829, devising his lands to his wife Sarah Fayerweather Appleton for life and on her death to his eldest son "John James Appleton, Esq., late secretary of legation at Court at Madrid." John was admonished to cherish kind and affectionate feelings and brotherly love "he now possesses" toward his younger brother Charles John Appleton, mariner, and always administer to his relief and necessities as his means and inclination may dictate. John J. conveyed to Charles C. Little in 1840. By him the property was split up.

The easterly part of the land north of Brattle Street eventually went to Deborah Carpenter, daughter of Thomas Lee. The Joseph Lee land south of Brattle Street was subdivided. That portion of 5 included in the area numbered 7 was conveyed by Joseph in 1768 to his neighbor Thomas Oliver. The balance was conveyed by Thomas Lee in 1807 to William Thompson. In 1831 Thompson's heirs conveyed to Abijah White, whose heirs in turn conveyed to Maria Lowell, Abijah's daughter, wife of James Russell Lowell.

THE FAYERWEATHER ESTATE

Numbered 6 on Plan B is the Fayerweather estate. Note that it originally included land in the rear of the Lee and Lechmere properties and a small triangle south of Brattle Street. It was said to have been purchased by Amos Marrett, Sr. at about the time he sold his former homestead to John Vassall, Sr. Amos died in 1747, probably in the old farmhouse on this property. There is on record in the Registry of Deeds a most interesting plan of this property dated April 14, 1760, showing a right of way extending from about the present corner of Fayerweather and Brattle Streets in a northwesterly direction to Mr.

Thatcher's land. This way is long discontinued but according to affidavits, also on record, the way was wide enough for two carts and was considerably used "by parties of pleasure going to houses belonging to Eben Bradish and Solomon Prentiss no longer standing." In 1764 Amos Marrett sold to George Ruggles and moved to Lexington. The house, now Mrs. Merriman's, was probably built by Ruggles.

George Ruggles is supposed to have come from Jamaica. In 1742 he married Susanna Vassall, sister of John Vassall, Sr. He is generally described as "Captain," though in one source he is promoted to Colonel. I can find little about Ruggles. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* informs us that "one Ezekiel Lewis married a daughter of George Ruggles and moved from his father's circle of merchants redolent of Molasses, Salt Fish and Rum to the more gently perfumed orbit of Loyalist Country Gentleman." Ruggles got into financial troubles in 1771. In 1772 his creditors, Gilbert Harrison and John Barnard of London, conveyed the property to John Vassall, Thomas Oliver, and John Foxcroft, two relatives and a friend who apparently came to his rescue. In 1774 they conveyed the estate to Ruggles, who in turn deeded it to Thomas Fayerweather. I find nothing as to what happened to Ruggles. Various sources suggest that, being a Tory, he followed the British army to Halifax. His name does not seem to be in any of the books or lists of Loyalists. I suppose it is not unlikely that he went back to Jamaica.

Thomas Fayerweather is described as son of a Boston merchant and a patriot. In the above deed to him he is referred to as Thomas Fayerweather, Esq., evidence that he had some pretensions to position. Professor John Winthrop of Harvard, the greatest American scientist of the period, married Fayerweather's sister Hannah, and Samuel Fayerweather, a brother, was a noted clergyman.

In the summer of 1775 the house was used as a hospital with a sergeant, a corporal, and nine men mounting guard over it. Thomas Fayerweather died in 1805. His daughter Sarah, who later married John Appleton, owner of the westerly portion of the Lee land, conveyed her interest to her brother John, described in the deed as of Westborough. Following John's death, about 1827, the estate was sold to William Wells, who in turn conveyed the triangle south of Brattle Street to Charles Lowell to round out his property.

Wells was a graduate of Harvard of 1796 and at one time was a

publisher. He opened a school in the Fayerweather house to fit boys for college. Among his pupils were James Russell Lowell, William W. Story, the lawyer who turned artist, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Mr. Wells eventually sold off most of the estate to real estate developers.

THE GERRY LANDS

The Gerry lands are numbered 7. This estate included other non-contiguous parcels west and south of the land I have shown. The land upon which Elmwood now stands was according to Henry Bond originally assigned to George Phillips, first minister of Watertown, who came over with Governor Winthrop in the *Arbella*. Sir Richard Saltonstall's land was near by. This area in the very early days of Watertown was called the Town. It is Bond's conjecture ("supported by plausible reasons, without positive data") that the first house of worship in Watertown was built on or near the present site of Elmwood.

In 1760 Christopher Grant deeded about thirty-eight acres of land including the site of Elmwood to Thomas Oliver. The Grants had been in Watertown a long time and had apparently owned the site of Elmwood for almost one hundred years. Oliver acquired more land from Joseph Palmer in the following year, giving him a continuous stretch of land extending from the Watertown road to Fresh Pond. The land on the easterly side of Elmwood Avenue was bought from Joseph Lee in 1768.

Thomas Oliver was a son of Robert Oliver, who came to Dorchester from Antigua, where both his father and his mother's parents were wealthy planters. Thomas graduated from Harvard in 1753 and in 1760 married Elizabeth Vassall, thus becoming related by marriage to most of the Royalists in Cambridge. John Vassall, Jr., was his brother-in-law, John Vassall, Sr., his father-in-law, Henry Vassall his wife's uncle, Penelope Royall Vassall his mother's stepchild, Mary Lechmere and Rebecca Lee his wife's maternal aunts, and Susanna Ruggles his wife's paternal aunt. Furthermore his sister Elizabeth married his aforementioned brother-in-law. We have little knowledge of Oliver's whereabouts between 1760 and 1766. He was in Antigua in 1763, presumably to look over his estates there, and incidentally to purchase "slaves, silver and pictures."

The property bought of Christopher Grant included a dwelling house. Probably this was torn down at the time Elmwood was constructed in 1767. Thomas Oliver lived pretty much a life of leisure supported by his Antiguan properties and wife's inherited wealth. He took an active interest in the affairs of Christ Church. In 1773 he was appointed Judge of the Provincial Court of Vice Admiralty. In 1774 he was appointed by the Crown Lieutenant Governor of the Province and ex-officio President of the Mandamus Council. Of course it was Governor Hutchinson's idea, but from Oliver's point of view an unfortunate one. On August 8 he was sworn into office. On August 31 of that year we find him riding to Boston to dissuade General Gage from using the military to disperse the Cambridge mob. Two days later he may have wished he had not done this. A mob of between three and four thousand, "one quarter part in arms," surrounded the house and demanded his resignation, threatened him, but apparently did no harm. Finally he signed a resignation from the Council which they had prepared, after adding, "My house being surrounded by about four thousand people, in compliance with their command I sign my name." The *Boston Gazette* in its account of the proceedings notes the following: "The gentlemen from Boston, Charlestown and Cambridge having provided some refreshment for their greatly fatigued brethren, they cheerfully accepted it, took leave and departed in high good humor and well satisfied." On September 12 the *Gazette* announced that Lieutenant Governor Oliver has removed his family and goods from Cambridge to Boston. Upon the evacuation of Boston he went to Halifax and thence to Bristol, England. He enjoyed a pension from the Crown until his death in 1815.

During the siege of Boston, Elmwood was used as a hospital. The estate was confiscated and sold to Andrew Cabot, a merchant of Beverly. Cabot was a partner of the younger Joseph Lee. He owned a number of privateers and appears to have profited thereby. He speculated in other confiscated estates, including that of Sir John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire.

In 1787 the property was sold to Elbridge Gerry, Harvard 1765, a politician and perhaps statesman, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of various Continental Congresses, of the Constitutional Convention (he refused to sign the Constitution), of Congress, and

of the XYZ Commission to France, father of the gerrymander, Governor of Massachusetts, and finally Vice President of the United States. Gerry's wife was the beautiful Anne Thompson of New York. Elmwood saw some excitement upon Gerry's return from the XYZ episode. At night mobs again gathered around the house, savage yells were heard, fagots were touched off, and in the morning a guillotine with the effigy of a headless man was found erected in front of Mrs. Gerry's window. Except for this incident he enjoyed his mansion, as he called it. He was extremely social and entertained well though sometimes frugally. Towards the latter part of his life he became very involved financially. He died in Washington of a heart attack while driving to the Senate. His estate had to be sold to pay his debts. Some of it was set off to the United States Government, perhaps a shoddy reward for his services to his country. The land south of Brattle Street was purchased by the Reverend Charles Lowell, that north of it by Joshua Coolidge. On Charles Lowell's death his lands were divided among the family, James Russell Lowell getting Elmwood. The Joshua Coolidge land passed to Josiah Coolidge who sold it to developers in 1870.

I think it is rather interesting that, in spite of the growth of this community and the present congestion, the seven mansion houses that were standing on these seven estates at the time of the American Revolution are still standing, all of them except the Lechmere house in their original location; that all except two of them, the Brattle and John Vassall, Jr., homes, are used as dwellings; and that only one of them, again the Lechmere house, has been radically altered.

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A HISTORY OF INNS AND HOTELS IN CAMBRIDGE

By CHAUNCEY DEPEW STEELE, JR.

Read April 23, 1957

LIKE most of us, the Cambridge visitor of today takes the conveniences and comforts of our modern hotels, such as the Continental, very much for granted and gives little if any thought to the course of history which has brought about their establishment. He can hardly be blamed for this; even I, a hotelman by profession and almost by instinct, was not fully aware of the long tradition of hospitality in Cambridge. I am doubly grateful therefore for the opportunity to inquire into its exact nature which this paper afforded me.

I will begin with a little general background. The site on which New Towne was founded in 1631, eight years before it became Cambridge, gave relative safety to its early settlers by virtue of its geographical location, which was one of limited accessibility. It neither beckoned nor catered to the transient wayfarer, and would not for some time to come. Wood wrote in 1633: "This is one of the neatest and best compacted towns of New England, having many fine structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants, most of them, are very rich, and well stored with cattle of all sorts, having many hundred acres of land paled in with a general fence." Approach was only by ship or, after 1635, by a ferry which represented the only route from New Towne to Boston by way of Roxbury. To this were soon added two land routes—a pathway to Charlestown and Watertown, later the King's Highway, and the Turnpike to Cambridge Farms (Lexington), a real dusty, rutty country road. The Great Bridge was constructed in 1662 and reconstructed in 1690, having been swept away by the tide in between. And so only as it became easier to reach Cambridge did travel volume increase; travel on foot or at best on the back of a horse, over distances which must have seemed enormous.

The early taverns therefore existed not so much for the convenience of travelers as for the comfort of the townspeople. Here they gathered

for the exchange of news, ideas, and opinions, for good fellowship and solacing drink.

On September 8, 1636, the General Court granted its first license "to keep a house of entertainment at Newe Towne" to Thomas Chesholme, an itinerant tailor, who used it to operate an establishment on the northwest corner of Winthrop and Dunster Streets, right next door to the community's first meetinghouse. According to the provisions of his charter, Chesholme had the privilege of lodging guests, serving meals, and dispensing liquors and vintages. The General Court, however, fearful of the wellbeing of its subjects, also decreed that anyone who drank more than half a pint of alcoholic beverage would be regarded as intoxicated, with an accompanying heavy fine levied on the host. Chesholme's career was not altogether smooth. Though a deacon of the church, he was accused by college students of the day, several years after going into business, of avarice, of starving student boarders, and of cruelty. Fortunately he was absolved of all charges at a public hearing and remained in charge of the first tavern until his death in 1671. That year the tavern was sold to Isaac Daye, "heretofore citizen and embroiderer of London."

The records show that others were quick to follow Mr. Chesholme's example of securing a license, and by 1639, when Cambridge had barely become used to its new name, two more establishments were in operation. In both cases their owners were eminent citizens. Nicholas Danforth, who opened an inn in 1637 on the corner of what are now Boylston and Plympton Streets, was both a selectman of the town and a representative in the General Court. Nathaniel Sparhawke, whose ordinary was located near Harvard Square, between Brighton and Mount Auburn Streets, was respected as a deacon who conducted his business with scrupulous character and the utmost dignity — in, we might add, what was formerly the home of a prominent minister!

With the opportunities for imbibing thus increased, the General Court had to take sterner measures, and enacted a whole group of laws in 1645. It was then forbidden to "suffer any to be drunk or drink excessively, or continue tipping above the space of half an hour, in any of their said houses, under penalty of 5s for every such offense suffered; and every person found drunk in the said houses or elsewhere shall forfeit 10s, provided that it shall be lawful for any strangers, or lodgers, or person, in an orderly way, to continue in such houses of common enter-

tainment during meal times, or upon lawful business, what time their occasions shall require." At the same time, both the Court and the community encouraged the foundation of hostelryes. In 1656, when towns were made liable to a fine if they had no "ordinary" within their borders, prospective innholders were given land grants, or pasturage for their cattle, or even exemptions from church rates and school taxes. Licensing, however, was not confined to innkeepers. A 1650 list shows ten men and five women permitted to sell intoxicating liquors by retail, and among recorded vendors of beer and bread was Andrew Belcher, who later was to originate the Blue Anchor. That licensing was a serious business may be seen from the appeal made to the County Court by President Dunster of Harvard in favor of Mrs. Bradish: "Honored Gentlemen, as far as it may stand with the wholesome orders and prudential laws of the country for the publick weal, I can very freely speak with and write in the behalf of sister Bradish, that she might be encouraged and countenanced in her present calling for baking of bread and brewing and selling of penny bear, without which she cannot continue to bake: In both which callings such is her art, way, and skill, that shee doth vend such comfortable penniworths for the reliefe of all that send unto her as elsewhere they can seldom meet with. Shee was complained of unto me for harboring students unseasonably spending there their time and parent's estate; but upon examination I found it a misinformation, and that shee was most desirous that I should limit or absolutely prohibit any, that in case of sickness or want of comfortable bread and bear in the college only they should thither resort and then not to spend above a penny a man."

Twenty years after the license for an establishment had been granted to Andrew Belcher, the Blue Anchor Tavern opened its doors under the management of his son. Throughout its long history, this Cambridge landmark was owned by a succession of outstanding citizens, among them Bradish, Angier, Watson, and Israel Porter. In 1737 it moved to and settled on the corner of Boylston and Mount Auburn Streets. In 1749, when Ebenezer Bradish took charge, it temporarily changed its name to "Bradish's." Here passed Lord Percy and his men on their way to Lexington. Here came Rufus Putnam's regiment, and later Generals Burgoyne and Phillips. Here too many of the makers of our constitution must have dined and slept. The diary of Dorothy Dudley carries the

following entry for April 18, 1775: "Today nine Redcoats stopped at Bradish tavern and then galloped on toward Lexington. I wonder what mischief is in the wind now!" She did not need to wonder for long!

Israel Porter became proprietor in 1796, and restored to the tavern its old name. Under the able guidance of Porter, who as a town commissioner and educated gentleman was a most genial host, the Blue Anchor continued to prosper. It became a meeting-place for the Cambridge selectmen, who transacted public business under its smoke-darkened rafters — and who reputedly paid for the use of the rooms by their patronage of the bar — also for students who celebrated regularly, and especially on Commencement Day. Only with Porter's death at the age of ninety-nine did the Blue Anchor lose in prestige and popularity. Finally business became so bad that in 18?? it was closed down forever.

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, the face of the town began to change. Gradually, the original log houses were being replaced by substantial two-story dwellings closely grouped together in the settled part of town. The population had grown; travel was more commonplace. In these days of development, the tavern and inn combined the functions of the modern hotel and club; they had both utilitarian and social qualities, with emphasis perhaps on the latter. A spirit of good fellowship was the keynote. We must remember that civilization was still on its way — 1690 saw fifty-two wolves killed in Cambridge, and the number increased to seventy-two the following year. A bear was shot in East Cambridge as late as 1754!

Among inns, now also growing in number, we may list some of the more prominent. The Brattle Square Inn, kept first by John Jackson and then by Captain Josiah Parker, opened in 1699, on the northwest corner of Brattle Street and Brattle Square. It lasted thirty-two years. Several years later the Davenport Tavern came into being. Situated on the westerly corner of North Avenue and Beech Street, this establishment soon became widely celebrated for the concoction of flip, a spiced, sweetened ale or beer. It stood for many years as one of the landmarks of North Cambridge, but was eventually transformed into a tenement house and later razed. John Steadman, one of the more eminent Cantabrigians, secured a license in 1731 to operate an inn midway between Brighton and Mount Auburn Streets, which remained until 1790, when hard times and a business depression forced it out of business. Other

hostelries in the easterly section of town along Main Street sustained themselves by both local patronage and that of country teams engaged in transporting merchandise to and from Boston. These teams, however, disappeared almost entirely after construction of the railroads, and the inns did not flourish long afterwards. All in all, between 1691 and 1735 twenty-four licenses were granted to innholders in addition to those already listed by name.

Whereas the population of Cambridge remained substantially the same during the eighteenth century, it grew rapidly during the next — from a modest 1,200 in 1800 to a respectable 50,000 by 1874. The town was no longer the fortress of old, — nor indeed was it to remain a town much longer, the city charter being adopted in 1846. With the opening of the West Boston Bridge in 1793 access became easy, and Boston travelers to and from the west now passed through Cambridge. Soon thereafter the first public conveyance was established; a stage which made one trip, and later two trips, daily. In 1826 Captain Ebenezer Kimball, then landlord of a tavern on Pearl Street in Cambridgeport, started the "hourly." Eventually this was expanded to a four-horse omnibus line, whose tolls were as much as a thousand dollars per month. The section of the city along Main Street from the Cambridge terminus of the bridge became known as Cambridgeport. "Its chief feature," Lowell reminiscently wrote in 1824, "were five inns with vast barns and courtyards. . . . Great white-topped wagons, each drawn by double files of six or eight horses, with its dusty bucket swinging from the hinder axle, brought all the wares and products of the country to their mart and seaport in Boston. These filled the innyards." And again in his *Fireside Travels* Lowell tells us, "Cambridgeport was more a caravansary than a suburb." But efforts to make it a commercial center were thwarted by the Embargo Act of 1808 and by the War of 1812. These paralyzed the country's business, and brought the promoters of Cambridgeport to bankruptcy.

A second bridge was promoted and built by Mr. Craigie, from Lechmere point to Boston, in 1810. After his death several years later Mrs. Craigie took in lodgers. Among those to stay with her were Longfellow, in 1837, and Dickens, in 1842. In 1858 both bridges became free public avenues.

The year 1796 saw the festive opening of the first of the great hos-

telries of the post-Colonial period, the Fresh Pond Inn, operated by Jacob Wyeth on the high ground bordering Fresh Pond not far from the location of the present Water Filtration Plant. In true Cambridge tradition, Wyeth was a successful hotelman. He retired about twenty years later with a comfortable estate which was the result of astute management. His nephew Jonas succeeded him, and carried on the Wyeth reputation until 1840, when the hotel was taken over by L. Willard. The latter provided swings, amusement, refreshment, and bathing facilities, thereby lending the grounds a resort atmosphere — with the result that the Fresh Pond Hotel received a good deal of its patronage from sleighing and skating parties in the wintertime, and from groups which frequented the pond for a cool breeze or a dip in the summertime. Not to be overlooked, however, were the hotel's facilities for dining, wining, and dancing. Its location, also, was no small factor in its success. It could be reached by walking or by a short drive, and even by a railroad established originally to move ice from the Cambridge ice houses to the Charlestown piers for export. The records of ownership also include a William Callahan, in 1848, and William G. Fischer, in 1875. Minutes of the Myopia Base Ball Club show that its members were regular patrons of the hotel from 1876 to 1880. But with the coming of local prohibition in 1886 the Fresh Pond Inn closed its doors, an indication of the importance of alcoholic beverages in hotel operations of the day. The building was sold to the Sisters of Saint Joseph, who converted it into an orphan's home. In 1888 however by an Act of the Legislature the city was given the right to acquire the property bordering on Fresh Pond as protection for its water supply, and four years later the building was ordered removed. It stands today at 234 Lake View Avenue, a stone's throw from its old site, as a stucco-covered structure which houses six apartments.

I would like to point out here that although I am giving the history of these hotels in more or less chronological order, their operation and use as hotels was by no means always continuous. A change in ownership was usually accompanied or preceded by a period of idleness for a variety of reasons that cannot be detected easily from the records still remaining. The Fresh Pond Inn is a case in point. Notwithstanding the listing of Callahan as its owner in 1848, John Langdon Sibley writes in his diary under August 21st of that year: "Many candidates for admis-

sion to college assembled at University Hall at six o'clock. As there has been no public house in Cambridge for several years, it has been necessary for most of them to lodge in Boston and come out previously to the hour of six." This appears to me a rather startling statement, though it is possible that the provision of lodgings was so secondary a function in inn operation that it was often suspended altogether. At any rate, the Fresh Pond Hotel receives no mention at all in the directories between 1856 and 1875, and Sibley in his diary at various times muses plaintively about the lack of public houses in Cambridge. On June 29th, 1850, he writes: "The want of some kind of a public house has been felt very seriously for eight or ten years, there not having been a place during that time when a stranger could apply for a meal of victuals or a lodging." And again on August 24, 1862: "Washington Gilbert, formerly of Harvard, preached at Dr. Newell's. No afternoon service during the month of August. There being no hotel in Old Cambridge and no restaurant where I could get a dinner I invited myself to dine at the Rev. Curtis Cutler's." August 22, 1864, carries the following entry: "Paid 50 cents for a beef-steak at a restaurant, there being no public house of entertainment in Cambridge." Sibley's observations, however, should not be taken as gospel truth, since they do not entirely agree with data provided by issues of the Cambridge *Directory* through the years. It is quite possible that he aspired to very high-brow tastes and ignored the "ordinaries" then in existence. The 1864 edition of the *Directory* lists no fewer than six public houses, hardly an impressive number for a growing city. The number decreased to five by 1875 and to two by 1890!

The most celebrated of these hotels was probably the Porter Hotel, which opened its doors in 1837 on what is now the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Upland Road at the end of Porter Square. Its founder was Zachariah Porter, who seems to have been no relative of Israel Porter of Bradish's Tavern fame. According to Sibley, Zachariah had managed a hotel in Brighton patronized by the cattle market there, and his purpose in moving to Cambridge was to cater to the cattle merchants who were conducting a huge and prosperous exchange adjacent to the hotel. It was not long, however, before his excellent hostelry — distinguished, among other things, by originating the Porterhouse steak — attracted the attention of the city's social elite. Chroniclers report that "gay and brilliant affairs, attended by fashionably dressed men and

women, transpired almost nightly, in halls that were beautifully decorated." The hotel was particularly popular among Harvard students, whose jubilations at times raised some disapproving eyebrows. In his semi-centennial address, Thomas Wentworth Higginson reminisces: "North Cambridge as yet was not, though Porter's Tavern was; and we Old Cambridge boys watched with pleasure and interest, not quite demoralizing, the triumphant march of the 'Harvard Washington Corps' — the College military company — to that hostelry for dinner on public days, and their less regular and decorous return." Also, "Here I used to go on Saturday afternoons to play tenpins (bowling) when I was a boy." Apparently, there were other sports as well, perhaps close by, for there is mention of "athletic contests with athletes of national renown, and with thoroughbred horses, racers, and trotters, participating in various events." There is also mention of — you may have guessed it — gambling!

According to Sibley, the Porter Hotel had deep roots in Cambridge history. He says: "January 7 & 8, 1878. Mrs. Whitney comes from Stow & stays overnight & Mrs. S. and I go with her to Porters Station to take the cars. When there were no railroads, Davenport's, near where Porter's Station now is, was a famous place in winter for the sleighs and vehicles from N. H. & Vermont to put up over night. Subsequently Porter bought the place and it became known as Porters Hotel, hence the Porters Station."

In 1840 two other hotels followed Porter's example by eyeing the cattle merchants' trade. Both led a brief existence. The Mace Hotel was too cheaply built and too inefficiently managed to survive for long, and closed down within five years. The Woodbridge Hotel, on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Frank Street, lasted until 1873, under diverse ownership.

By our present-day standards, and even slightly earlier ones, the physical descriptions of these hotels of old are not at all flattering. Even for their age they were crude in furnishings and equipment, and to a large extent reactionary in their policies. Poor construction often permitted gusts of rain, wind, sleet, and snow to penetrate the walls. To get to their sparsely furnished rooms, guests had to go up steep and creaking staircases. Elaborateness was not considered a necessity by the hotel management. The equipment was plain and practical, and rooms

were furnished for utility and permanence, with little regard for aesthetic qualities.

Light was provided mainly by candles. Some hotels used also kerosene and gas lamps, though the former tended to be smoky and the latter smelly. Rooms were heated, probably inadequately, by inefficient coal furnaces. Washing and bathing was done in a bowl on the washstand, with water from a pitcher. In the midst of winter, formation of ice on top of the water was not at all unusual. To bathe in a tub, guests had to wait for hours to get into the common lavatory. Few hotels had private bathrooms, and those that did were prohibitively expensive.

Of the mid-to-late-nineteenth-century hotels, the Brattle House or Brattle Square Hotel is the best known. A successor to the earlier hotel of the same name, it was housed in a large, square, pretentious wooden structure built on land that filled in an earlier pond. On June 29, 1850, Sibley writes: "The newspapers contain an account of the dinner given last evening to the keeper of the Brattle House by the citizens of Cambridge. This hotel was opened to the public on Monday, though a few persons had been received there previously. It is to be regretted that it contains a bar at which will be sold ardent spirits. The apprehension that such might be the case, & that a hotel would be a nuisance among the students & to the village, has led many to be inactive about countenancing it." Sibley's attitude on the "drink problem," brought to public attention by the frenzied temperance lecturers of the day, is of interest. The hotel itself, which represented an attempt to provide a metropolitan hotel for Cambridge, was not financially successful. After two decades of struggling, it ceased operations, and the building became the property of the University Press.

Other hotels of the period were the Prospect House, located just below Central Square, for several years a popular rendez-vous of businessmen of the area; also the Hotel Cambridge and the Mansion House in East Cambridge, which were patronized mainly by those having business at the Court House nearby. None of these hotels compared with Porter's — nor, for that matter, did Porter's compare with the Adams, the Lenox, the Parker House, the Touraine, and other then famous Boston hotels.

And so we come to the end of the century, and with it to the end of what I will call the historic period of Cambridge hotels. For nearly

thirty years after the closing of the Porter Hotel, survived until recently by a large sign, the visitor to our city was to find accommodations scarce. The records list the Riverbank Court Hotel opened in the early 1900's, said at one time to be the first "modern" Cambridge hotel comparable to Boston institutions, as the only hotel of consequence. Here the Cambridge Council and the Rotary Club met for many years, though its location near M.I.T. was not very central. Not until construction of the Hotels Continental and Commander could Cambridge claim large and modern hotels of its own.

The need for hotel accommodations in the city has always been real. It is greatest at Commencement time, when the influx of visitors reaches a peak. During the growth of Cambridge as an industrial center, however, it must have existed at other times as well, since the ordinary conduct of city life practically demands a place for the comfort of travelers. Thus the fact that in an expanding city with a population of over 100,000 no adequate hotel existed for nearly a third of a century must stand unique in the annals of American communities. Not until late in the prosperous twenties was the idea of building a new hotel translated into action, in keeping with the steps taken by other civic-minded cities. When it finally was, the impetus was three-fold, for John J. Shine, an enterprising Cambridge builder, took out permits in 1928 to construct the Hotels Continental, Commander, and Ambassador. In a sense, his venture was not a successful one, since in the time consumed by construction the economic climate became considerably less healthy.

The Continental opened in the fall of 1929, only a few weeks before the Black Friday of the stock market crash. Less than six months later, the hotel was in the hands of the Federal National Bank, which had foreclosed the mortgage and insisted on operating the hotel itself, "to the apparent delight of some of the bank officials who moved in so that they could see what was going on." It is doubtful that this helped the revenue of the hotel. In any case, both because of the depression and because the bankers made somewhat inept hotel operators, there was no improvement. The bank itself went out of business in 1933, and this caused the Continental to be put up for sale. It was acquired by Warren MacPherson, Robert Moore, and Ernest Henderson for \$275,000, a sum which represented about one-third of its original cost, in a transaction which marked the entrance of Henderson and Moore into the hotel industry.

Later these same men were to become the builders of the great Sheraton hotel empire. In recalling the deal, which required a cash payment of only \$25,000, Mr. Henderson observes succinctly: "There certainly were great opportunities in those depression days." To which I might add that he certainly took advantage of them too!

The most interesting part of the negotiations concerns the fact that there were close to \$100,000 of "mechanics liens" on the property. Mr. Henderson believes that this potential liability scared off other bidders, so that his group was actually the only one to submit a bid. Subsequently the liens proved to be of small concern and were all settled for about \$1,500.

While his timing was unfortunate for his own success, John J. Shine nevertheless deserves our gratitude for the vision he displayed. He was an energetic man who took the bull by the horns. The 140-car garage which he built for the Hotel Continental was far ahead of the time. The garage became an issue which the Cambridge residents less radically inclined were not willing to take lying down, and the resulting case went all the way to the state Supreme Court, where it was decided in Shine's favor. Needless to say, without his wisdom the Cambridge parking problem would be considerably greater today!

The Continental's Piccadilly Inn, which has grown famous all over the world, was instituted by its new owners. More specifically, it was the brainchild of Mr. Warren MacPherson, president of the company, an enthusiastic amateur interior designer who wanted to suggest both in name and in decor the flavor of an Old English Tavern in the new cocktail lounge. "Piccadilly" seemed a most appropriate title, though it may not be entirely coincidental that Mr. MacPherson's daughter was called "Dilly," short for Cordelia.

Meanwhile the Hotel Commander, which contains 315 rooms in its six and a half stories, was also experiencing financial difficulties. It had been acquired by the Moran Hotel Company through a mortgage arrangement with the New York Life Insurance Company. Because of extravagant operation of the property, the owners defaulted on their mortgage payments, with the result that the insurance company foreclosed and operated the hotel through most of the thirties. It did so by engaging the Hotel Expert Service Corporation, a firm organized by Frank K. Boland, former legal counsel for the United States Hotel Corporation,

then one of the country's largest hotel chains. Subsequently, by first leasing it and gradually acquiring its stock during his years as manager, Mr. Boland became sole owner of the hotel. He purchased it just prior to World War II for \$600,000. At the time of purchase, Mr. Boland did not intend to remain in ownership for long. He had planned retirement, and more or less bought the hotel for his wife, who took an active interest in its decoration and also managed the housekeeping department. The Hotel Commander was sold to its present owners in 1955, considerably later than Mr. Boland had meant to sell. He says, "Since then I have had ample occasion to regret my action, because an inactive life seems to be irksome to my nature. I am now negotiating for another hotel, and while I have two or three in mind, it is difficult to be completely satisfied with a new proposition because of the many happy relationships which developed at the Commander."

When John Shine originally built the Hotels Continental and Commander, he intended to operate them as a single unit; at one time he even contemplated building a tunnel to join them together. The Continental was to be the fashionable residential section, while the Commander, with its greater number of function rooms and sleeping accommodations, was to be the transient wing. Curiously enough it is the Continental which, in the last fifteen years, has become the leading transient hotel in the city. Its Grand Ballroom is one of the largest and most handsome in all of New England. We have on two occasions staged tennis exhibitions with a standard sized court laid out and with four hundred persons watching from basketball stands. Both these events were for charities. Here banquets, testimonials, dances, and functions of all sorts are held throughout the year. It is truly a social center of Cambridge.

I hope you will now permit me a little personal history. I first came to Cambridge in 1940, as assistant manager to my father, Chauncey Depew Steele, Sr., who had taken over as manager of the Hotel Continental the previous year. When, in 1941, he was engaged by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Moore, the same two gentlemen we learned about earlier, to manage the Copley Plaza, which they had just purchased, we persuaded the owners of the Continental to let me stay on. It was to be for a trial period of three months, since I was only twenty-six years old at the time, and they perhaps felt unsure of what I could do. However, I had grown up in the hotel business, and the experience gained by working

summers in my father's famous resort, Briarcliff Lodge, had given me the necessary instinct for management. With the help of divine Providence, and with what I had learned as assistant manager, my trial period was a success, and as a result I have been here ever since, except for the period from 1942 to 1945 when I served as an Officer in the United States Navy.

One of the problems which arose during my absence was that of maintenance. Both materials and manpower were being concentrated in other directions to help the war effort, and the Continental, like all hotels, suffered in upkeep. While it had become a sound financial investment by this time, benefiting from the fact that once again no new hotels had been built in Cambridge, the sum total of its deferred maintenance was sizeable and amounted to nearly complete renovation when it could finally be taken care of.

One of my favorite recollections of hotel business concerns the Hotel Ambassador, third of John Shine's group. Also under new management since the depression days, it was leading a quiet and successful existence, catering primarily to resident guests. In 1947, when the Office of Price Administration decided to decontrol hotels, the Ambassador wanted to be relieved of price control too. Since the management had always been most cooperative in taking care of our overflow, I knew quite well that they had approximately eighteen transient rooms. When the government maintained that the Ambassador was an apartment house and as such not eligible for decontrol, I was asked by the manager to testify otherwise. I did so in good conscience, because I was sure that the Ambassador had lived up to Webster's definition of a hotel, namely, "a house providing lodging and usually meals for the public, especially for transients; an inn." The case came before Judge Charles Wyzanski, a fellow Cantabrigian, in the United States District Court, with the Ambassador considering me its star witness. When I had finished, Judge Wyzanski leaned over and said to me, "Excuse this question, but you have been such a good witness that I would like to know if you are being paid." My reply was, "Not to my knowledge, Your Honor, but if you know anyone who wants to pay me, I won't mind." Fortunately the judge had a good sense of humor, and doubled up with laughter. "All right," he said. "You'll get your witness fee anyway." I am still, however, waiting to receive it. I will say in all modesty that the Am-

bassador won the case and was decontrolled, and in the process remained as Cambridge's third large hotel. We do have other inns, like the Brattle Inn, and the Kirkland Inn, which, however, do not serve food.

In 1952 I became the owner of the Hotel Continental, by purchasing it and two apartment houses for \$1,050,000, with the help of many fine friends and acquaintances. I had raised the money in three months' time, and my sealed bid won out over five other groups. Since then I have made efforts to remain in control of the company, and at present own a major portion of the outstanding stock. The details of corporate maneuvering would make sufficient material for a speech longer than this one, but I shall not bore you with them, since I do not wish to be accused of becoming unhistorical. Suffice it to say that one of my first moves was to bring my father back from semi-retirement as my assistant, thereby restoring the happy combination of Steele, Sr. and Jr.

While I consider myself still below the age for reminiscing, over the protests of my friends I will say that a hotelman leads an interesting life. He has the opportunity to meet well-known people from all over the world, particularly in so cosmopolitan a city as Cambridge. Among the guests it has been our privilege to serve have been Supreme Court Justices (Mr. Felix Frankfurter), Cabinet Officials (Harold Stassen), Governors (Griffin of Georgia, and Herter and Furcolo of our own Commonwealth), legislators, actors and actresses (Elizabeth Taylor, Ruth Chatterton, Edward Everett Horton), eminent educators, and people from all walks and stations of life. We attempt to be a home away from home, for this is our mission, to provide food and lodging in the most hospitable, friendly, yet still efficient manner possible. A hotel is a city within a city, and as such it brings to anyone who observes closely the most marvelous opportunities to study human relations and character in action.

From the day that a hotel is opened and the key is thrown away, in a centuries-old innkeeping ceremony, the hotel never sleeps. Around the clock, an operator mans the switchboard to handle emergency calls. Elevators run throughout the night. Watchmen and security officers are on quiet duty to ensure the safety of guests and their possessions. Down beneath the lobby, engineers in the boiler room keep the furnaces properly fired, so that heat and hot water are available at any hour. An electrician stands by to make sure that the power plant and the lighting sys-

tem function smoothly. During the night hours, cleaners methodically go through the hotel plant, scrubbing the kitchen and public rooms so that all will be clean and ready for the morning.

Our hotels are the civic and social centers of Cambridge. A great deal of business is conducted in our meeting rooms, very much in the way it is often described and pictured in novels or the movies. To cite a recent example, the new Harvard football coach was interviewed and hired at the Continental. The Cambridge Dinner Dances, the Service Club luncheons and meetings, the testimonial dinners to prominent citizens are all held in our hotels. As many as eleven weddings have been celebrated at the Continental in a single day, and while this figure does represent a strictly seasonal peak, the sum of all the wedding gatherings held during my seventeen years here would make a staggering total. No two days are ever alike in the hotel business, which perhaps accounts for its stimulating interest and fascination.

Of the future I can only say that it is a promising one. Cambridge is a vital city which, because of its educational, industrial, and business institutions, can claim many visitors. These receive their impression of our city not only from its historical points of interest and those places which they have come to visit, but also from its hotels. It is the responsibility of the hotel industry to modernize, to be ever hospitable, and to provide every comfort possible, so as to make this impression a favorable one, one which will promote the desire to return. The problems faced by the industry in carrying out these responsibilities are numerous. Parking, for instance, has become a major headache, since the lack of facilities is detrimental to business. Prices are a constant problem, for their increase makes it difficult for many travelers to patronize hotels. At the Continental we have found a partial solution by providing less expensive housing in near-by buildings, but not many hotels are so fortunate. The inflationary trend of our economy since 1940 is perhaps reflected in the rent for our luxury suites, which has risen from \$75 per month then to a current \$350. Competition from new units built on cheaper land in surrounding areas, such as highway-hotels and motels, must be met, and this gives an even greater importance to modernization. All in all, the task ahead is not an easy one, though I am confident that with faith and courage it will be carried out successfully.

And so I come to the end of my task here, which has been that of

guiding you along the road of history, as seen in the taverns, inns, and hotels of our great community since the days of its inception. I hope that I have been able to transmit to you some of the fascination which this history now holds for me. Above all, I hope you'll forgive me if I have spoken with too much eagerness. It has been about things which are very close to my heart.

ARTEMAS WARD AND THE SIEGE OF BOSTON

By CATHARINE KERLIN WILDER

Read June 4, 1957

ON April 20, following the battles of Concord and Lexington, Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, issued this call to the towns on behalf of the Committee of Safety of the Congress: "Our all is at stake, death and desolation are the consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious. One hour's delay may de-luge your country in blood and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of our patriots that may survive the carnage."

The exact number of men who poured into Cambridge in response to this alarm is not known, but estimates place it between sixteen and twenty thousand. They were mainly members of local regiments whose officers were responsible to no higher authority. They were an independent, unruly, undisciplined body of people on the whole, who carried their own guns and some ammunition. The officers had enlisted the men under them, who were ready to use all their individual resourcefulness to fight the British whenever and wherever they could be found. A French general characterized these New Englanders after the battle on Lake George in 1755 by saying: "In the morning they fought like good boys, at noon like men, and in the afternoon like devils, but at all times of day their aim was such that their adversaries dropped like pigeons."

Who was to command this motley mass of men? As the hostilities between England and her colonies grew more and more inevitable, Massachusetts Bay had gone farther than any other of the thirteen in facing this question of a general for the entire colony, and indeed of an army of the colony, instead of the hundreds of militia which were formed in the towns and villages and grouped into regiments. In 1774, when the Provincial Congress came into existence, it established the Committee of Safety with duties of watchfulness and with power to call out and direct the militia "whenever they shall judge it necessary for the safety and defence of the inhabitants of the Province." Jedediah Preble, Artemas Ward, and Seth Pomeroy were elected major generals to take command and to

do so in the above mentioned order. This was the first step taken in the direction of an over-all command in the colony, but the battles of Concord and Lexington came so unexpectedly that the Committee had no time to issue any orders, so all was left to the initiative of individuals and of the officers of the regiments. Fortunately on April 19th and 20th the rebels succeeded in forcing the British back into Boston and establishing a twelve-mile barricade around the city. Now the Provincial Congress was faced with an imminent conflict and the problem was Who should be the commander-in-chief? Would it be one of the previously mentioned major generals or someone else?

When the alarm of Concord and Lexington reached Shrewsbury on April 19th, Artemas Ward was ill in bed. He had just returned home from a strenuous meeting of the Provincial Congress, of which he was a member. From the time he graduated from Harvard in 1748 and received his M.A. in 1751, he had combined a life of public service with military duties. At Ticonderoga, where he fought under Abercrombie against the French, he spent a strenuous year which brought him military honors and the rank of a colonel, but his health became impaired and for the rest of his life he was to suffer with a kidney ailment. However, he never let this deter him from carrying on his public duties in Shrewsbury and later in Boston, where he was elected to the congresses, committees, and the General Court which helped to break the power of the British in Massachusetts.

When the British saw his growing influence in the cause of the rebellion, they marked him as a dangerous figure and withdrew his commission. A dramatic account of this is left by the Reverend Joseph Sumner, Shrewsbury's much beloved and influential preacher. He records that a mounted messenger in full uniform, rode into Shrewsbury one morning bearing the order from British Governor Bernard to have Artemas Ward superseded. At the time Ward was on the village common with a group of his friends watching an old meetinghouse being torn down. The messenger handed him the letter, which he read, and one of the bystanders inquired after he finished whether it contained "important news." Ward then read the letter aloud to the small group and turned to the messenger and said, "Give my compliments to the Governor, and say to him, I consider myself twice honored, but more in being superseded than in having been commissioned, and that I thank him for this,"

holding up the letter to the group, "since the motive that dictated it is evidence that I am, what he is not, a friend to my country."

On April 19th Artemas Ward quickly left his bed despite pain from a kidney stone, mounted his horse, and headed for Cambridge. He was the only one of the three major generals appointed by the Committee of Safety to reach Cambridge that day, so he took command, and instantly called a council of war in Hastings House. Also he established contact with Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Provincial Congress, and plans were made to complete the blockade of Boston. General William Heath and General John Whitcomb, both of whom Ward knew well, were also present at this council of war, with six colonels and six lieutenant colonels. It was fortunate for Massachusetts and the American Revolution that at this crucial moment there was a core of military men in Cambridge who knew and respected one another and who could assume the type of leadership which at that time was needed.

From April 20th until May 20th the Provincial Congress thrashed out the question of a Massachusetts army and a general to lead it. They thought at first that with fifteen to twenty thousand men already in Cambridge an army might be enlisted then and there. Confusion prevailed as the men, mostly farmers, came and went, depending upon whether there was anything for them to do or any anticipated action. Even the status of the Provincial Congress itself was in question. Consequently no plans were crystallized. This body, although an elected one, was established while the British still held control, but now that this control was broken, perhaps for good, the Congress had to rethink its new position and its relation to an army. With this baffling political situation, and with the added danger that the British were likely to break out of Boston at any moment, Artemas Ward had to contend. He kept his headquarters at Hastings House, but he had no official commission as a commander, and he was to be in this indefinite position from April 20th until May 20th, when the Provincial Congress finally appointed him commander in chief of the Massachusetts forces.

During this anxious first month Ward knew desperate moments. On April 23rd he wrote to the Provincial Congress: "My situation is such that if I have not enlisting orders immediately, I shall be left all alone. It is impossible to keep the men here expecting something to be done. I therefore pray that the plans [for the formation of an army] may be

completed and handed to me this morning, and that you, gentlemen of the Congress, issue orders for the enlisting of the men." Powder for an army did not exist. Ward urgently requested the Provincial Congress to find powder in Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut. When President Warren wrote to New York he said: "Not because we suppose you have a surplus, but because we are in the most distressing want."

From April 20th until the end of the siege of Boston Ward kept an orderly book which now is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The entry for the first day shows how he tried to bring some order out of the chaos, and how he cooperated with the officers around him. The very first order is one that General Heath, not General Ward, sent to the Committee of Supplies and Safety for provisions at Concord — "that they may be brot to Cambridge as soon as possible."

Under general orders Ward wrote: "that colonel Gardener repair immediately to Roxbury and bring all the Bread that can be obtained," and "that colonel Bond bring all the cannon at Watertown, Newton and Waltham together with part of the ammunition to the camp at Cambridge."

Also Ward ordered every officer and soldier "to keep close to his quarters and to be ready to turn out completely accoutered at a moment's warning and parade at the meeting house." Another general order was that "a captain, two sergeants, fifty-two Rank and File immediately be sent to bury the dead on the field of Battle, also to take care of the wounded." No guns were to be "discharged in the streets of Cambridge without leave." Finally orders were given to make the town house the guard house, for the colonels of regiments to appoint officers under them, and for a guard to be maintained around Boston with instructions to "keep a vigilant lookout and if the enemy make any movement, or if any discoveries are made to give immediate notice to the General."

From the very beginning Ward turned to the Provincial Congress, such as it was, for his orders. This was a moment when a man might have tried to establish a military command and ignore the weak civil power. But not Ward. He inherited and thoroughly believed in the democratic process of government, no matter how much time and energy its execution involved, and by temperament he was not a dictator. He, a staunch Calvinist, preferred moral persuasion and held daily prayers in the morning outside his headquarters, when he appealed to the New

Englanders in the name of divine Providence. He was a thoughtful person, somewhat slow in speech, and fully convinced that the Massachusetts Bay colony was the land most approved by Providence, and that those in Massachusetts were the Chosen People.

The following letter was written by Joseph Warren to Samuel Adams, who was then in Philadelphia:

I see more and more the necessity of establishing a civil government here, and such a government as shall be sufficient to control the military forces not only in this colony, but also such as shall be sent to us from other colonies. The Continental Congress must strengthen and support with all its weight the civil authority here, otherwise our Soldiery will lose the Ideas of right and wrong, and will plunder instead of protecting the Inhabitants. This is but too evident already; and I assure you *entre nous*, that unless some authority sufficient to restrain the Irregularities of this army is established, we shall very soon find ourselves involved in greater Difficulties than you can well imagine.

Ward tried to keep the camps from social deterioration. However there was no enforcement of his orders beyond that which the officers under him were willing to give. This varied with the officers, who in most cases were more anxious to curry the favor of the men than to reprimand them. To restrain the excessive drinking on May 4th he issued the following order:

That no person presume to sell spirituous liquors in the camp but such as have heretofore been licensed for that purpose. That all persons immediately break off this iniquitous practice which has a tendency to Destroy the peace and good order of the Camp. But if there be any such person who will not pay due obedience to this order, their spirituous Liquors are to be seized and given to the commissary general for the use of the army. The commissary general is to be accountable to the province therefor.

The camps became very dirty, and to try to keep the sanitation as it should be the following order was issued on May 2nd:

That the quartermaster of each regiment see that vaults be immediately dug in some bye place for the use of the regiment and that the Parade and Camp be cleaned every day and all the Filth buried — that the colleges in particular and parade around them be kept clean and that privates from each Regiment do attend the orders and directions of the quartermaster for the above Purposes.

Desertion among the men was frequent, as many of them were

farmers and were anxious to return to their fields to plant the spring seeds. Artemas Ward attempted to stop this.

For the future when any deserters come to any of the outguards, they are without the least delay to be sent to the corporal's guard, to the next guard in the lines, who is immediately to escort them in the same manner to the major general commanding that division of the army, who, as soon as he has examined them, will forthwith send them under a proper escort from his guard to headquarters. It will be a breach of orders in any person who gives rum to a Deserter before he is examined by the general.

On paper it looked as if the army was well organized, but a great gap existed between what went out in general orders and what was executed. One officer of the day marched unnoticed in the midst of the guards and found that they were all asleep. He said: "I might have killed the whole of them." So under these conditions with human nature what it is, it is no wonder that the army in Cambridge appeared dilatory, dirty, and irresponsible. Yet Artemas Ward and all those close to him knew that should the British attack, this mass of men would be on their feet ready at a minute's notice to fight as they had in the past. Also Ward knew that under these circumstances any arbitrary command on his part would mean the end of the army such as it was. Fortunately for our cause the British generals would not believe what their intelligence reported about the state of our army. They thought it was a false alarm to lure them out of Boston, and they feared the deadly aim of those "filthy farmers."

On June 15th another council of war met at which bold action was contemplated. Anxiety persisted lest the British break the siege and take both Bunker Hill and Dorchester Neck. Earlier the fortifications in Roxbury had been strengthened under the command of general Thomas, but Dorchester Neck remained unfortified. Now the onslaught of the English long threatened seemed imminent, and with the regiments filling up in Cambridge and some military experience being given there, the determination to fortify both the strategic points of Bunker Hill and Dorchester Neck grew more and more adamant. At earlier meetings Ward and Joseph Warren opposed this move until the rebels could be better equipped, but now the resolution of the council of war on June 15th showed that despite the shortage of powder, Ward was ready to approve the project of fortifying only Bunker Hill.

On June 16th he issued orders to this effect. Colonel Prescott, Sam Gridley, and Israel Putnam were the leaders of this expedition. A stone now by Austin Hall marks the spot where President Langdon of Harvard led a band of some twelve hundred men in prayer the night of June 17th before they left for Bunker Hill.

What transpired at Bunker Hill is too well known to be elaborated upon here. Criticism of Ward's strategy spread when it was all over, but time has shown that under the circumstances his decisions on June 17th and 18th showed a balanced judgement, and an awareness of the whole situation and not of just a sector of it. His adversaries attacked him for not sending additional reinforcements, but Ward refused to change the disposition of his forces, or to weaken the center of the line at Cambridge, or to shift the Roxbury forces until he knew the British would not extend the attack beyond Bunker Hill. Prescott and Putnam, both impetuous temperaments, issued orders beyond the original plan by placing the fortifications on Breed's Hill and not just Bunker Hill. This provoked the British to attack with line after line of well-equipped soldiers, who exhausted the patriot forces and forced them to use up all their ammunition. It is no wonder that Ward spent two very anxious days, as only he knew how limited was the powder supply. To disclose the truth of this so that the enemy might learn of it, might conceivably have encouraged the British to attack on more than the Bunker Hill sector.

Both Ward and Dr. Warren were ill that day, but they did not fail to perform their duty. Dr. Warren rode to the battlefield to cheer the soldiers. Three days previously he had been appointed a Massachusetts second major general, and he outranked the officers at Bunker Hill. Prescott asked him to take the command when he appeared, but the fighting was under way and Warren refused. Instead he threw himself into the battle, and shortly was killed. His death deprived Massachusetts of a great political leader whose wisdom, judgement, and action had been of incalculable value. For Ward it meant the loss of a close collaborator and friend. That understanding link between the Provincial Congress and the Massachusetts army was broken, as James Warren, who succeeded Dr. Warren in the presidency, was most critical of Ward's command. Yet James Warren admitted, "We dare not supersede him."

From now on the command grew more difficult for Ward. His orderly book shows no mention of the battle of Bunker Hill by name,

only on the margin under June 18th are the figures 115, 305, 30, totaling 450. Under June 17th, also in the margin, in small writing, is the following: "killed 115, wounded 305 — captured 30," which is his accounting of the famous battle. Immediately following what at first seemed like a disaster, Ward ordered care for the wounded, the dead, and the prisoners of war. Also he asked that "his thanks be given to those soldiers who behaved so Gallantly in the late action at Charlestowne, such Bravery gives the General sensible pleasure, as he is thereby fully satisfied that we shall finally come off Victorious and triumph over the Enemies of Freedom and America."

This project to fortify Bunker Hill was designed to prevent the enemy from moving out of Boston onto the mainland, but it resulted in such severe losses for the British that when word reached England, Lord Dartmouth, who had been so confident of the English position in Boston, quickly decided to replace General Gage with General Howe and to make plans for quitting Boston and perhaps removing the entire force to Halifax and Quebec. At first the rebels did not realize what a moral victory they had won, and that such thinking was transpiring in London and Boston.

After the middle of May both the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and the Continental Congress in Philadelphia realized that Massachusetts could not fight alone. Men and supplies, particularly powder, were needed from the other colonies. The leaders were hesitant to consider the placing of the command in Cambridge in the hands of an outsider, but on May 16th their thinking had evolved to a point where they sent Dr. Benjamin Church to Philadelphia to canvass the possibility of offering the direction of the army to the Continental Congress. After his arrival, John Adams proceeded to show the Congress the need of action on their part to save the army in Cambridge. He knew there was not enough powder in New England to carry the army through a campaign. From June 2nd and to June 14th it grew more and more evident that as the Massachusetts colony was to receive help from the other colonies, the General in command should be from outside Massachusetts, so that there would be no suspicion that the New Englanders, particularly the Massachusetts colony, wished to impose their will on the other colonies, or were using the help of non-New England colonies to break the tyranny of the British in New England alone. If there was to be a war it had to

be a war of all the colonies united in one command, under the direction of the Continental Congress.

George Washington, a delegate from Virginia, felt his soldierly impulses rising as the discussion of the commander in chief progressed. He had brought with him from Mount Vernon a red and blue uniform he had worn in the French and Indian War, and now he donned it daily. Undoubtedly he began to feel at this moment that he was a man of destiny. John Adams writing on the May 29th said: "Colonel Washington appears at Congress in his uniform, and by his great abilities and experience in military matters is of much service to us." His military experience however, has been less than that of the generals holding the command in Cambridge.

With such an imposing person in their midst and with the decision to find a commander outside of Massachusetts, quite naturally Washington's stature rose.

To be acceptable to all the colonies it was essential that the commander in chief be native born, of proven courage, and of military prominence, otherwise the troops of some of the colonies might refuse to acknowledge him. He must be a man sufficiently aggressive politically to command the respect of the New England patriot leaders, yet he should be moderate enough to ease the minds of the less ardent of the central colonies. For him to be wealthy and socially prominent was important for the encouragement of the rather small proportion of the well-to-do on the Patriot side.

Hence more and more it seemed to John Adams, who became the spokesman for a leader of the united colonies, that George Washington was the most acceptable choice. All the Massachusetts delegation agreed with him except Robert Treat Paine, who advocated keeping Ward in the command in Massachusetts. On June 15th, three days before the battle of Bunker Hill, Adams nominated Washington, who was elected. While Adams was making his motion, Washington, who sensed the outcome of it, slipped out of the room, so as not to be present when his name was mentioned.

Adams, writing to his wife, said: "I can now inform you that Congress has made the choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous and brave George Washington Esquire to the General of the American Army, that he is to repair as soon as possible to the camp before Boston.

This appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these colonies."

Washington, writing to his wife on June 18th, said, "You may believe, my dear Patsy, and I assure you in the most solemn manner, that so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavour in my power to avoid it, not only from unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home than I can have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. I shall rely therefore confidently on that providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting that I shall return safe to you in the fall." Little did he realize that the fall was to see some of the most agonizing moments of his life, and that Patsy was to journey to him in Cambridge to be at his side during the difficult raising of the siege of Boston.

A debate followed Washington's appointment as to who should be the commanders immediately under him. Quite naturally Massachusetts felt that with the command given to a southerner, Artemas Ward should be named second in command. At Philadelphia Charles Lee was present, an Englishman who turned against his country, he was eager for a top command under Washington. In fact, he had moments of hoping he might be the commander in chief. He was an engaging character, to whom Washington took a liking, but time was to show his instability, and before the war was over he became a traitor to the American cause. As Washington knew none of the officers in command at Cambridge, he was glad to have one officer under him whom he knew, so Lee was appointed a major general. Lee had fought at Ticonderoga with Ward, and there he acquired a prejudice against him. The men were opposites in temperament, and Lee found Ward's staunch Puritan strain repugnant to him. He claimed Ward should be a church deacon and not a military man. This prejudice he passed on to Washington.

On June 23rd Washington, Lee, and Schuyler, another major general, left from Philadelphia led by an escort of all the delegates from Massachusetts, as well as by many other delegates from the Congress and a large troop of artillery, many officers of militia in their uniforms, and a band. After five miles the entourage turned back, and Washington and

his party continued unescorted. Fifteen miles from Philadelphia messengers rushing on horseback brought the first news of the battle of Bunker Hill. The result seemed only to confirm in Lee's estimation the inadequacy of Ward's command. Neither he nor Washington had at that time any detailed idea of what had been happening in Boston from April 19th until then. As they rode on, John Adams returned to Philadelphia to write Abigail: "I poor creature, worn out with scribbling for my bread and liberty, low in spirits, and weak in health, must leave others to wear the laurels which I have sown."

The day before Washington left with two of his major generals John Hancock wrote Artemas Ward from the Congress room:

Honorable Sir, in my task I inform you that this Congress has appointed George Washington, Esquire, General and Commander in Chief of all the forces raised or to be raised by the United Colonies. That Gentleman takes his departure tomorrow morning from this city in order to enter upon his command. I mention the circumstance of his departure that you may direct your movements for his reception.

I have the honor to transmit to you a commission from this Congress, appointing you *First Major General and Second in Command* of the forces of the United Colonies, you will please to acknowledge the receipt of it.

I wish you the divine protection and success in all your undertakings.

This letter is the first official document to inform Artemas Ward of his new status in the command at Cambridge. On June 30th, upon the receipt of it, Ward wrote to John Hancock the following:

I have, Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of the commission of a major general and do heartily wish that the honor had been conferred upon a person better qualified to execute a trust so important. It would give me great satisfaction if I thought myself capacitated to act with dignity and to do honor to that Congress which has exalted me to be second in command over the American army. I hope they will accept my sincere desire to serve them and my utmost grateful acknowledgement for the honor conferred upon me, and pray they may not be wholly disappointed in their expectations—I always have been and am still ready to devote my life in attempting to deliver my native country from insupportable slavery.

Without any hesitation Ward accepted his position under Washington. At first there was some dissatisfaction among a few of the Massachusetts officers with their new ranking, but Ward helped to quiet this, and to keep the Massachusetts forces in line for Washington

to command. By constantly putting the best interests of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and now of the United Colonies, first in his thinking, Ward in his position immeasurably helped the early course of the American Revolutionary War.

The Provincial Congress also ordered Ward to prepare for the reception of Generals Washington, Lee, and Schuyler. President Langdon was asked to vacate his house, excepting one room to be reserved for him, so that this could be Washington's headquarters. Ward was to give "such orders for their honorable reception as may accord with the rules and circumstances of the army and the respect due to their rank, without, however, any expence of powder and without taking the troops from the necessary attention to their duty at this crisis of our affairs."

When Washington reached Watertown, James Warren made a speech, to which Washington replied: "Whatever deficiencies there may be [referring to the army] will, I doubt not, soon be made up by the activity and zeal of the officers, and the docility and obedience of the men. These qualities united with their native bravery and spirit will afford a happy presage of success and put a final period to those distresses which now overwhelm this once happy country."

There are no official records of how the newly arrived generals spent their first Sunday afternoon and evening, in Cambridge. One report has it that Ward entertained them with a banquet in Hastings House where "all restraint was cast aside in a spontaneous welcome — glasses clinked, stories were told, and the wine circulated."

The occasion undoubtedly was more restrained than tradition has it, as Ward was not an exuberant man, and neither was Washington. By that date New Englanders had discussed among themselves in town-meeting style the political exigencies of the situation, and "the rank and file" had accepted the action of their representatives in the Continental and Provincial Congresses, and were ready to receive Washington with "deference and fair cordiality."

On July 3rd "the officers placed their men in as good shape as they could," but they were an unkempt looking group. No two dressed alike, and some were "armed with fowling pieces, some with rifles, others with muskets without bayonets." When all was in readiness, Washington in a uniform and mounted on a black horse, advanced with his staff to the common, where he received the command from Artemas Ward. "After

a short address to the soldiers Washington took from his pocket a psalm book from which he read the 101st Psalm." What Artemas Ward said on this occasion is not recorded. No mention of the event was made in his orderly book. Washington, who evidently expected to find a professional looking and acting army was repelled by the sight before him. One of his first impulses was to have the men wash and be given some uniforms.

Now a new era had begun in American history. No longer was the Massachusetts Provincial Congress responsible for the course of the American Revolution on the soil of Massachusetts. Until then the cooperative and understanding leadership of John Adams, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock in the Continental Congress, of Joseph Warren in the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and of Artemas Ward on the military front had helped to shape the destiny of the colonies, particularly the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in a most precarious moment in their political and military history. Now there was a new alignment of leadership.

On May 17th Joseph Warren had written to the Continental Congress: "Subordination is absolutely necessary in an army, but the strings must not be drawn too tight at first. The bands of love and esteem must be principally relied on amongst men who know not any distinction but what rises from some superior merit." It remained to be seen how a southerner who was used to the handling of slaves would pull the strings of command in New England, and how he would unite the colonies on the battlefield.

On July 2nd Ward issued his last two general orders. First, "that some suitable person in each company in the several regiments be directed to inspect said company daily, that upon finding any complaints of indisposition among the men, the surgeon of each regiment will examine thereinto, and if there be any symptoms of smallpox upon them, that they be immediately removed."

Secondly he ordered that one soldier "be taken out of each company in Putnam's, Prescott's, Bridge's, Frye's, and Glover's regiment, whose daily business shall be to sweep and keep clean the camp." Under these he drew a line across his orderly book, and recorded the date, July 3rd, 1775. Following this, in a florid script he wrote: "By his Excellency George Washington, Esquire, Commander in Chief of the forces of

the United Colonies of North America." From now on he was second in command, with his headquarters in Roxbury. The first general order under Washington as recorded by Ward was "that the colonel or commanding officer of each regiment forthwith make two returns of the members of men in their respective regiments, distinguishing those who are sick, wounded, or absent on furlow, and also the quantity of ammunition each regiment has." Three pages in Ward's rather large orderly book show one order after another emanating from the commander's headquarters. Washington was prepared to draw the lines of command more tightly than they had been drawn, and his method of issuing orders was more authoritative than that of Artemas Ward.

On July 4th Washington said: "It is required and expected that exact discipline be observed and due subordination prevail through the whole army, that a failure in these essential points must necessarily produce extreme hazard, disorder, and confusion, and end in shameful disappointment and disgrace."

The following day he ordered a general court-martial "to be set tomorrow at ten o'clock A.M., for the trial of John Scott for insulting the sentry and attempting to pass the guard to Boston, and James Foster for theft. The witnesses are to attend, and the parties charged are to have notice this day, that they may be prepared for their trials." In Ward's orderly book there was no record of a court-martial while he held the command, and it was obvious that now Washington meant to enforce his general orders with punishments for their infraction.

In a letter Washington wrote on July 10th to the Continental Congress we get some clue of the early frustrations he encountered in his new command:

My earnest wish to comply with the instructions of the Congress in making an early and complete return of the state of the army, has led to an involuntary delay of addressing you; which has given me much concern. Having given orders for that purpose immediately on my arrival, and not then so well apprised of the imperfect obedience which had been paid to those of the like nature from General Ward, I was led from day to day to expect they would come in and therefore detained the messenger.

They are not now so complete as I could wish, but much allowance is to be made for inexperience in forms and liberty which had been taken (not given) on this subject. These reasons I flatter myself will no longer exist, and of consequence, more regularity and exactness will in the future prevail.

From the time Ward assumed command, he had tried to get an accounting of the number of soldiers in Cambridge, but the officers paid no attention to paper work. Ward understood their reaction and was most patient with them. Periodically he renewed his orders and hoped for some positive reaction to them. He had only a scrappy accounting to present to Washington.

Washington's orders did produce a momentary improvement in discipline, but they were soon followed by a severe reaction. "Harsh words, rigorous punishments and class distinctions were unpleasant fare, and the camps soon seethed with friction." On September 21st Washington advised the Continental Congress that "the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny." Were the lines being drawn too tightly too suddenly for the New Englander? Washington wrote his half-brother: "I believe I may with great truth affirm that no man perhaps since the first institution of armies ever commanded one under more difficult circumstances."

The shortage of powder and money weighed heavily upon his mind, as it had upon Ward's. And like Ward he had to keep the truth to himself for fear it would reach the enemy. He was discouraged by the way the soldiers came and went without reporting and by the frictions between the men of different colonies, and he found it hard to believe that he could form any kind of a disciplined army here in New England. Also he did not agree with the way the defence had been arranged, but after consultation with his officers, he realized that to change them "would give a general dissatisfaction to this colony and dispirit the people."

In the summer of 1775 the council of Generals Ward, Thomas, Putnam, and Spencer helped Washington to appraise the situation before him and decide how to handle it. Washington found the intense individualism of New Englanders irksome, and in his desperation he thought of a plan whereby he might raise the siege quickly and make it possible for him to end this phase of his command before the winter approached. In a very carefully thought-out letter, which he wrote in his own hand, he outlined his plan to Artemas Ward. He sent the letter the day before he called a council of the officers, so that Ward might have a chance to think it over before presenting his judgment the following day. The letter in part read:

I think it proper, indeed an incumbent duty upon me, previous to this meeting to intimate the end and design of it, that you may have time to consider the matter with that deliberation and attention which the importance of it requires.

It is to know whether in your judgement we cannot make a successful attack upon the troops in Boston by means of boats cooperated by an attempt upon their lines at Roxbury — the success of such an enterprise depends, I well know, upon the all wise Disposer of Events, and is not within the reach of human wisdom to fortell the issue, but if the prospect is fair, the undertaking is justifiable under the following, among other reasons which might be assigned, namely that there is a need of barracks, of wood and blankets and clothing for the winter. Difficulties will be increased to an insurmountable degree. Also the army is engaged only until the first of January, and the difficulty of levying new troops grows more and more insurmountable.

Our powder (not much of which would be consumed in such an enterprise) without any certainty of supply, is daily wasting, and so I sum up the whole, in spite of every saving that can be made, the expence of supporting this army so far exceed any idea that was formed in Congress of it, that I do not know what will be the consequences.

Despite the attractive idea of ending the hostilities suddenly, Ward in the meeting the following day stoutly opposed any attack by boats. He knew the great shortage of powder, and he knew the strength of the British in numbers and also in ammunition. The battle of Bunker Hill was green in his memory, and although he knew the New Englanders would fight to the last man, he also knew they needed ammunition. Such a plan as Washington's seemed too rash to be attempted at this moment when all supplies were very short. Therefore he and the other Massachusetts officers declined to accept Washington's plan. Ward at this point had tremendous faith in the future, and faith in the ability of the New Englanders to withstand the trials ahead of them, and he was ready to accept the consequences of his judgement.

Washington grew depressed. He wrote in confidence to Joseph Reed in Philadelphia: "Few people know the predicament we are in, on a thousand counts, fewer still will believe, if any disaster happens to these lines, from what cause it flows. I have often thought how much happier I should have been, if, instead of accepting a command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder and entered the ranks, or if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country and lived in a wigwam."

Again in January Washington proposed that an attack be made on

Boston over the ice of the Charles river. Again Artemas Ward opposed this by saying that the attack must be made with "a view of bringing on an engagement or of driving the enemy out of Boston, and either will be answered much better by possessing Dorchester Neck." Generals Ward, Thomas, Putnam, and Spencer thought in terms of the original plan they had for raising the siege, and no matter what daring ideas Washington produced, they adhered to their own blue print which was conceived before his arrival.

Fortunately the end of January colonel Knox arrived from Ticonderoga with artillery which he and a group of men had heroically dragged over the frozen ground to Cambridge. This added supply of ammunition enabled the generals to feel that now the time had come when the attack might be made with some degree of safety over the Dorchester Neck. So on February 16th, in a council of war Washington accepted this plan and preparations to realize it were begun. Ward's headquarters at Roxbury was the center for the operation. He appealed to the patriotism of his troops, and he challenged "every man in every station and department to exert all his powers for the salvation of America. Freedom and glory, shame and slavery are set before us — let us act like men, like Christians, like heroes, and form a character for the admiration of posterity." With these words ringing in their ears those under his command went into action.

A letter from Washington to Ward at this time ended: "You will settle matters with the officers with you, as what I have said is intended rather to convey my ideas generally, than wishing them to be adhered to strictly."

While these dramatic events transpired on the colonial side, the British were engaged in planning and now executing their departure from Boston. Just at the moment the rebels were poised to attack over Dorchester Neck, the last boats were being loaded. Washington had reports of this, but he was uncertain whether or not this was part of the British strategy to stage a surprise attack from both the land and the sea.

At this point I would like to read two letters which Washington sent to Artemas Ward just before the final attack was made on Boston. I will read from the original letters, which soon will be given to the Massachusetts Historical Society. They may have been written in the very room in which we are now meeting.

Head Quarters Cambridge 12 March 1776

Sir

As a number of the Enemy's Transports have been observed this Afternoon to sail out of the Harbour, and it is possible that before to-morrow morning they may have finished their shameful retreat and the Gates of the Town be thrown open. In that case it is the General's positive orders that no Person whomsoever be suffered to go in, or come out of the Town without his special Licence for that purpose — for besides the great danger of spreading the infection of the small pox in the army, it may be attended with other bad consequences, too many to enumerate. His Excellency also requests that you would be particularly attentive and vigilant the ensuing nights to prevent the Enemy from attempting by some bold stroke in some measure to wipe off the ignominy of their retreat — He also desires you will give proper directions to watch their motions along the Shore as far as Plymouth — and if any thing material should occur to give him the earliest information —

You'll please to be particularly careful about Milton, Braintree, Cohasset & Hingham lest they should attempt to land there. —

By his Excellency's Command

I am most respectfully

Your obtd. & hble svt

Wm. Palfrey esq.

The Hon.^{ble} Genl. Ward

Headquarters Cambridge

13th March 1776

Sir

His Excellency the General wants to consult with you, General Thomas, & General Spencer upon many matters & as he does not think it prudent at this time that you all should be so far as Cambridge from your posts. I have it in Comand to inform you that he will call at your house, or General Thomas' this day at ten o'Clock, where he will expect to meet you & them. Gentlemen I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most Ob. Svt

Stephen Moylan

General Ward

On March 16th the rebels opened their fire, but the retaliation from the enemy was feeble. The following morning, Sunday, March 17, 1776, Artemas Ward rode at the head of some five hundred troops under the immediate command of Colonel Learned. Without any opposition they

approached the gate of the city, opened it, and found Boston deserted. We can only imagine what Ward thought as he witnessed the last of the British ships sailing out of the harbor. After eleven months, during which time he saw little of his wife and eight children, the siege of Boston had ended, and the British power in Massachusetts Bay Colony was completely broken.

Little did Artemas Ward and the hundreds of colonists dream, as they rushed to Cambridge the previous April, that they were to embark on a war which was to end in the formation of the United States of America.

At the age of forty-eight Ward's responsibilities to his colony did not cease. For the next twenty-four years, despite ill health, he was to continue in public service in Massachusetts and later in the Congress of the United States in Philadelphia.

A HOUSE AND THREE CENTURIES

BY ARTHUR EUGENE SUTHERLAND

Read September 24, 1957

THE road from Cambridge to Watertown must have been a pleasant way in 1657, probably curving among the pines as wood roads do. Perhaps John Holmes, substantial householder of Cambridge and second-generation American, early on some bracing September morning of that year, may have left his house on the south side of Brattle Street near the lane now called Appian Way, and ridden or walked out the sandy road to savor the clear air and to give himself the pleasure every man feels when he turns around and views his land. John Holmes' farm ran from the tidal marshes along the river back nearly to Fresh Pond; today no one can tell whether in 1657 there was any house on his acres, or whether the first structure rose a little later. Perhaps the precise date is not very important; a year or two, one way or another, is no great matter in this perspective of many lifetimes. Tonight our Society gratefully meets on John Holmes' land, in a house whose beginnings must go back almost, if not quite, to his day.

In our membership there are talented historiographers who may well, in the years to come, reconstruct from records still unsearched a complete and scholarly story of the house which one of our members, John Holmes' most recent successor in title, has generously in her will tendered as a home for our Society. This brief memoir pretends to no such authentic worth. It purports only to assemble, from published accounts and from some other sources, an outline story of this house and of its owners, through the three hundred or so years of its life, to the end that, as we meet to consider this gift, we may think of the men and women who have here spent their lives, and think of the stout frame, the strong walls, and the tight roof that sheltered our predecessors as tonight they shelter us.

John Holmes moved to Salem in 1685, selling the farm to Dr. Richard Hooper. We know little of that first Dr. Hooper; we are not even certain that he lived in the old house. He died in 1690, probably not

leaving his widow Elizabeth very well off, as she obtained a license to keep an inn three years later. But we should do her memory wrong to think of her as a New England Mistress Quickly. In pioneer times many householders entertained travelers much as people do today when they run "Tourist Rests" to help earn a living. Elizabeth did well by her son Henry; he became a physician like his father, a famous medical man who lived in our old house. In the second decade of the eighteenth century he was physician to the dignified and eminent President of Harvard, John Leverett, and one of the best-known medical records of the time is a bill for services, sent by Dr. Henry Hooper to President Leverett's estate. In this document modesty struggles with pride of achievement; it includes such accounts of professional attention to President Leverett as (speaking of 20th April, 1722):

About wch time he come and complains his is sick at his stoma; & has an asthma I advise him to ye use of the Elixr. ppn &c. by wch he is restored so I do no more for him as yett charge £2.0.0.

The 16th [July] he goes to ye mineral spring to take ye waters and ye 17th he comes and went into ye salt water. I go in with him to attend him & when he come out dress his leggs as above, and doe thus sundry times & ye 21st July 1722 I visitt at his house & dress his leggs leave plaster & spread for sundry dressings by which means he gitts well and for this my attend^{ce} &ca I charge £1.0.0.

Why advice to use the Elixir was twice as valuable as all this personal attention, is not apparent after two and a third centuries. Perhaps the good doctor felt that sea-bathing with the President of Harvard was itself worth a good deal. The treatment, one notes a little sadly, was only a temporary palliative, for John Leverett died less than two years later, at what now seems the not advanced age of sixty-two.

By 1733 Dr. Hooper had moved to Newport, and in that year he sold our house to a Boston merchant named Cornelius Waldo. At least part of the time Mr. Waldo kept the house for rental, for it is advertised for rent in the *Boston News Letter* of 17 March 1742. In 1758, one year less than two centuries ago, Faith Waldo, widow of Cornelius, sold the house to its most notable colonial owner, Judge Joseph Lee of the Court of Common Pleas of Middlesex County. He was a prominent member of the prosperous and conservative families that later gave to Brattle Street the name of Tory Row. He was the son of a Boston ship-builder and had graduated from Harvard in 1729. He may well have

bought the house to provide a home of suitable dignity for his young wife Rebecca Phips, whom he had married three years before. She was one of the three daughters of Lieutenant Governor Phips, each of whom married into one of the great families that lived along the road to Watertown. Elizabeth Phips, wife of John Vassall, Sr., lived during her short married life in the older Vassall house, on the south side of Brattle Street. The other Phips sister, Mary, wife of Richard Lechmere, lived for a decade in a house next easterly to Judge Lee's, which stood on what is now the northwest corner of Sparks and Brattle Streets.

Tradition ascribes substantial additions by Judge Lee to his new-old house — as was fitting for a judge, son-in-law of the Lieutenant Governor, a founder of Christ Church, and a close friend or relative by marriage of the families that lived in the other six great houses of Tory Row — the Brattle house; the two Vassall houses; the Lechmere and Ruggles houses; and the house of Thomas Oliver, later Lieutenant Governor, the house now known as Elmwood. Probably when Judge Lee bought his house in 1758 its roof was sloping, much like a "salt-box" roof, and he raised it to its present level to make room for more chambers on the top floor. Some later member of our Society will perhaps have the skill in architectural history that the author of this paper needs and lacks, and will tell us exactly how the house looked before Judge Lee's improvements; will tell us whether the roof had its longer slope toward Brattle Street, or whether it sloped away toward the rear to shelter a summer kitchen where the present library surrounds the great fireplace. Be that as it may, the Judge improved the house as befitted his station and his bride.

The twenty years before the storm broke in 1774 must have been pleasant for the great folk who lived along Brattle Street. The last reminders of those good days were still evident in 1777/1778 when Baroness Riedesel wrote of them. She and her husband, commander of Burgoyne's German contingent, were assigned the Lechmere house for their quarters following the British surrender at Saratoga, and she told in her memoirs:

. . . they transferred us to Cambridge, where they lodged us in one of the most beautiful homes of the place, which had formerly been built by the wealth of the royalists. Never had I chanced upon such an agreeable situation. Seven families, who were connected with each other, partly by the ties of relationship and

partly by affection, had here farms, gardens, and magnificent houses, and not far off plantations of fruit. The owners of these were in the habit of daily meeting each other in the afternoons, now at the house of one, and now at another, and making themselves merry with music and the dance — living in prosperity, united and happy, until, alas! this ruinous war severed them, and left all their houses desolate except two, the proprietors of which were also soon obliged to flee.

Probably Joseph Lee was one of the latter two mentioned by the Baroness. The Judge was a Royalist but a widely respected man, and he escaped the bitterest of the anti-Tory demonstrations. In 1774, under the Regulating Acts of the British Parliament, he had been appointed one of the "Mandamus Councillors," thirty-six Loyalists designated by writ of the Crown to replace the former council of the colony. The mandamus councillors were immensely unpopular. The most conspicuous of them, Lieutenant Governor Oliver, of Elmwood, was besieged in his house by a crowd demanding his resignation. He gave it, but with a note of protest:

My house at Cambridge being surrounded by 4000 people, in compliance with their commands I sign my name, Thomas Oliver.

Judge Lee, too, was forced to resign as Councillor and took refuge in Boston. But his house was not confiscated and after a time he was allowed to return to it. Here he lived until 1802. One hopes that some of the gracious life he had enjoyed before the war returned to make his old age pleasant. At the time of his death the *Columbian Centinel* wrote of him:

He was distinguished in society by the manners of a gentleman and by the habits and principles of an honest and honorable man. . . . He was a good subject to his king, under whom he executed the duties of an important office with fidelity and honor, and with equal fidelity he adhered to the government of the United States since the Revolution.

During the first part of the nineteenth century Judge Lee's grand-niece, Mrs. Deborah Carpenter, lived in the house, but Mrs. Carpenter seems to have moved to an adjoining house by the late 1840's, for of her at that period Susan Farley Treadwell Nichols has written:

The next year my old friend Mrs. Carpenter expressed a wish that we should hire her house next to the one she occupied, & after much demur on the part of my

husband against hiring such an old house, represented as the oldest in Cambridge (over two hundred years), he consented to have it examined by mechanics who pronounced it worth extensive repairs, & we hired it at a rent of \$125 on a lease of five years & commenced its renovation.

Thus in the year 1850 there came to our house the Nichols family, whose name appears on the bronze plate on the easterly gatepost. Mrs. Nichols continues her story of the work she and her husband undertook to prepare the house for their tenancy:

We found it difficult to procure mechanics willing to spoil their tools on the hard wood beams, the frame of English oak brought over here, & we were obliged to get a squad of workmen from Salem to conclude its preparations for occupancy. Our Cambridge friends were quite interested in our scheme, professing to welcome our return but thinking it a courageous thing to undertake to repair so thoroughly the old house. But as the mechanics said it would be a good house for at least 20 years, & the situation, trees &c were so attractive to us, we went hopefully on, amid many drawbacks. One, was the discovery that the cellar was too low for a Furnace & we should be compelled to use an Entry stove! This compulsion (with my many cares), I felt unwilling to accept & so suggested digging the cellar lower, & making a brick passage under the entry floor for the conveyance of a hot air pipe into the West parlor. This was found practicable & we have thoroughly enjoyed the comfort of the house all these years. At last we were able to procure a landscape paper, as appropriate to the W. parlor, & as the house looked *very* low for its breadth we purchased the discarded railing of the Chancel of St. Paul's Church, Boston, to serve as a façade giving more height. After the entire finish of the inside of the house at a cost of about \$1,000, [George] & I went to see Mrs. Carpenter with the proposition that we would thoroughly paint the *outside* of the house on condition that she would extend our lease of five years to six years which she gladly promised to do, for her own pride's sake.

Mr. George Nichols bought the house in 1860, and the Nichols family continued to occupy it for many years. In the early part of the present century it came into the ownership of Mr. and Mrs. Austin T. White, who made extensive changes and improvements, bringing the house to its present state. Mr. White was a grandson of Mr. and Mrs. George Nichols. In time Mr. and Mrs. William Emerson came to the house as tenants of Mr. White, and in 1923 negotiations were concluded for the sale of the premises to Mrs. Emerson. At this time Mr. White wrote to Mr. Emerson, stipulating “. . . that you will maintain the present or a similar bronze tablet on the gate post. I think you will understand that

I have a strong sentiment about the house in which I was born and which my family lived in for three generations."

In 1925 Mr. White again wrote about the tablet, this time to Mrs. Emerson at 159 Brattle Street; one gathers that some question had arisen as to the authenticity of the information on the gateposts:

Since getting your letter I have been trying to recall the various sources of information from which this tablet was made up. I believe it was mainly from a local history of Cambridge. At the time I was satisfied as to its general accuracy and have no doubt that the main facts are correct as to the approximate dates of its erection and remodelling. I remember at the time that the date of its erection in 1660 approximately coincided with what my grandmother had told me of its age. . . .

If I remember correctly it was impossible to find the name of the original builder or even a correct list of the various owners, because the house passed through many hands, having, I believe, been in our family longer than any other. . . . [L]ike all houses that have passed through many hands . . . there are necessarily certain portions of its history which are obscure.

I went to considerable pains in placing this tablet on the post and consequently it formed part of the agreement for sale with Mr. Emerson that this or a similar tablet should be maintained by you, as you will see by the enclosed correspondence. I should be glad therefore to see the text of the new tablet before it is cast in case you think the information on the present one is inadequate.

I had a particular reason for making this condition as part of the sale, because some Cambridge Historical Society pestered me to allow them to put a new tablet in its place. I cannot, now, recollect exactly what alterations they wished to make, but I did not approve of them. As I had considerable sentiment about the house, I should have been unwilling to sell it without the understanding that the original tablet or one essentially the same be maintained.

There are now two tablets, one on each gatepost. The westerly one reads (with an error in the dates given for Joseph Lee!):

JOHN HOLMES
about 1660

RICHARD HOOPER
1685

CORNELIUS WALDO
1733

JUDGE JOSEPH LEE
1758-1860

The easterly tablet reads:

NICHOLS HOUSE
BUILT ABOUT 1660
REMODELLED
ABOUT
1760

The house that Francis White Emerson devised to our Society has grown and changed, as living creatures do, through its long life, and today it would be hard to say with confidence which features date from the seventeenth century. The great central chimney is undoubtedly one of the oldest surviving parts; it is said to have been laid with clay and pounded oystershells. The chimney is the core of the house; its spaciousness can be gathered from the projecting brick footholds intended to serve as steps, visible from inside the great fireplace in the present library, by which a man determined to reach the top and careless of soot on his clothing, could, perhaps to sweep the great stack, climb up inside the chimney to the top. The front door and its magnificent lock-box probably date back to 1720 — they may have been paid for with some of the fees earned by Dr. Henry Hooper in caring for his illustrious academic patient. The west-parlor paneling dates from the same time. The window seats and shutters were probably installed by Judge Lee about 1760; a pleasant, and not improbable, fancy can picture a gay evening in that year, the rooms lit with many candles, and the house filled with guests, invited by Judge and Mrs. Lee to admire the new paneling, and to celebrate the victory on September 8 over the French at Montreal that made the British masters of Canada.

As Mrs. Nichols' memoirs suggest, heating the house in cold weather must have been a serious problem in the first two centuries of its life, and this may account for double walls at the east end, and at the west end as well, save for their elimination in the west parlor. This latter change may be one made by Judge Lee in his improvements of about 1760, when he felt the need of more space.

Today's visitor may first be struck by the scenic wallpaper in the west parlor and in the west chamber over it. The paper in the west parlor seems to be the work of the French designer, Joseph Dufour, who was producing much-sought-after landscape paper about 1816-1829. The

west-parlor paper is probably of the design known as "Rives du Bosphore"; the turbaned Pacha, the scimitared soldier, the camel, the distant minarets, the caique with a lateen sail all suggest an idealized picture of Constantinople, drawn by someone who had heard the city enthusiastically described but had never been there. This was a famous paper, so rare that there are still preserved some records of purchasers of sets. One was bought for a house in Montpelier, Vermont, in honor of Lafayette's visit; one was bought for the Monroe Tavern, in Lexington; one was bought for 58 Chestnut Street in Boston. Another set was ordered by a Colonel Lee of Marblehead — a coincidence of names that sets one to wondering.

Dufour's paper was so highly valued, a century and more ago, that it was sometimes sold by the owner of the house where it was first used, and was removed to a new location. This may account for the statement made by Mrs. Nichols about 1850 that she had found appropriate landscape paper for the west parlor.

The paper in the west chamber, on the second floor, seems also to be the work of Dufour of Paris. It is the "Bay of Naples" design, as well known as the paper showing the shores of the idealized Bosphorus. The installation of the "Bay of Naples" in the west chamber may have occurred much later than that of the Rives du Bosphore; it may, indeed, have been put on in the present century, when Joseph Everett Chandler, distinguished architect of forty years ago, was making one of the many general improvements of the house that have, through the years, brought it to its present beauty. The story of the various wallpapers in our house would furnish abundant material for a separate future essay to be read before a meeting of our Society. There is one, and possibly there are two layers of wallpaper under the Rives du Bosphore; the immediately underlying paper, glimpsed where the top-layer is loose at one spot, appears possibly to date from the end of the eighteenth century. There are two layers in the west chamber; the underlying paper there is not now identified.

The library, at the rear of the west chamber and the dining-room, occupies the space where a summer kitchen may have been in Judge Lee's time. The domed oven in the fireplace is probably an original part of that installation; the other oven may be a comparatively recent decorative addition. The present library is the work of Mr. Chandler, installed

while the house was the property of Mr. White. The brick floor dates from that improvement, but was laid to accord with traces of a much earlier brick floor, disclosed when Mr. Chandler's work was in progress. The present state of the great fireplace is again due to the same architect, who made an effort to recreate the general atmosphere of past centuries rather than to restore the summer kitchen exactly as it must have been in Dr. Hooper's day.

There are many other features of our house that deserve long study, and careful, scholarly description, that neither time nor talent allows in these pages. One thing is sure, and needs only the memory of a third of a century: the old house is a reminder of a goodly heritage and a source of reassurance to the visitor who, seeing it for the first time, is reminded that here men long before us worked and hoped and endured, and that we can do as much. I remember a student of thirty-five years ago who used to put down his books late on autumn afternoons and walk out past our house, and stop to read the bronze plaques that tell of its past, and then go on, somehow rested and ready for more work and hope. The men and women who, generation after generation, built this house probably did not think of themselves as purposefully doing some good thing for generations to come; but no one builds a house for today only, and this one is much like a history of three centuries, written slowly, in successive volumes. Of our house can well be said what Henry Sienkiewicz, annalist of his country's struggles, wrote when he laid down his pen at the end of his historical trilogy — that it was made through many years, and with no little toil, for the strengthening of hearts.

PUBLICATIONS AND MATERIALS CONCERNING 159 BRATTLE STREET,
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The Cambridge Tribune, December 30, 1916, Second Part, pp. 9 and 10, "The Lee-Nichols House."

"The Judge Joseph Lee House, Cambridge, Massachusetts," by Joseph Everett Chandler, 21 *House Beautiful* 108, February, 1922.

Lucius R. Paige, *History of Cambridge* (1877), p. 598. Statement of medical services, Dr. Henry Hooper to estate of President John Leverett of Harvard.

Baroness Fredericka von M. Riedesel, *Letters and Journals*, pp. 139, 140ff. Account of the seven great families in Cambridge, pre-1774.

Alice Westgate Hildreth, "Notes by the Way" (Mimeographed, 1944).

- Alice Westgate Hildreth and Louise Fletcher Chase, "Notes by the Way" (Mimeograph, 1946).
- Printed Sheet "Open Houses in Cambridge" (May 18, 1946). Notes on various Cambridge houses, including 159 Brattle Street, for League of Women Voters tours.
- "The Judge Joseph Lee House" (Mimeographed. 1 sheet, unsigned).
- Susan Farley Treadwell Nichols (1810-1892), extract from Reminiscences. 2 pages and 1 of "Notes." Set of carbon copies. Refers to pages of original, not known (September, 1957), in Harvard Library.
- M. M. Vignales. Card in large type, dated 6/41. Describes wallpaper, history of house in brief, including data on Cornelius Waldo as slave-trader.

LETTERS

- Austin White to Wm. Emerson, December 14, 1923 (Copy).
- Wm. Emerson to Austin T. White, December 18, 1923 (Copy).
- Joseph Lee to Mrs. Emerson, March 13, 1925.
- Austin T. White to Mrs. Wm. Emerson, May 8, 1925.
- M. Joseph Kenney (George V. Steel) to Mrs. Wm. Emerson, July 21, 1938.
- Austin T. White to Mrs. Emerson, June 30, 1941.
- Angus MacDonald & Sons to Mrs. Wm. Emerson, May 3, 1948.
- Mrs. Clifford A. Waterhouse to Mrs. Wm. L. Payson, August 1, 1957. (Letter concerning paper.)
- Mrs. Henry Dubois Tudor to Mrs. Anna D. Holland, August, 1957.
- Mrs. Anna D. Holland to A. E. Sutherland, August 15, 1957.

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- Memorandum, Conference, September, 1957, Mrs. Payson and Mrs. Clifford Ross.
 Concerning dates of interior features.
- Assorted photographs and negatives.
- Drawing, reproducing plan, recorded in Book 810, pag. 403, with deed.
- The publications, letters, and other papers here referred to are in the archives of the Society at 159 Brattle Street.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON: HIS ANTE-BELLUM YEARS*

BY TILDEN G. EDELSTEIN

Read April 22, 1958

IN an essay entitled "The Colonel's Quality," Professor Bliss Perry has suggested that the primary importance of Thomas Wentworth Higginson eventually will be recognized to lie in his contributions to American Literature. While it is indeed correct that Higginson, in his later years, considered himself a writer and critic, and was acknowledged as such by his contemporaries (he was elected to a proposed American Academy of Immortals), this was not the case during the first forty-five years of his life. For during the initial half of his long and eventful life much of his time was spent in the cause of social reform. Only peripherally was Higginson a literary man. It is true that he wrote some poetry and contributed some articles to ante-bellum periodicals, but even his poems and his essays were largely focused on reform and were largely didactic in tone and content. His energies as a speaker, writer, and activist were mainly utilized to further liberal religion, public education, woman's rights, temperance, and the abolition of slavery. Though significantly involved in the whole spectrum of reform causes, abolitionism, as for his contemporaries, became of primary importance to Higginson. Unlike most of his contemporaries, however, his abolitionism assumed a militancy which did not stop at verbal pejoration. Less successful than Wendell Phillips as a stirring orator, and less known than William Lloyd Garrison as an impassioned journalist, Higginson had no peer among the abolitionists in combining oratory, journalism, and overt militancy. No abolitionist called for, and participated in, physical action to the degree he did. If there has been any little justification, in our own day, for not fully recognizing Higginson's contribution to literature, there is far

* Manuscripts from the following institutions have been used: Houghton Library, Harvard University; Harvard University Archives; Newburyport Public Library; First Religious Society at Newburyport; American Antiquarian Society at Worcester; Smith College Library; Boston Public Library. A comprehensive biographical study of the interaction of Higginson and his times is currently in progress.

less reason for not recognizing the importance of Higginson as a reformer — especially as an abolitionist reformer.

Born in 1823, the tenth and last child of Louisa and Stephen Higginson, Jr., Thomas Wentworth joined the distinguished line of New England Higginsons. Francis Higginson had been one of the first ministers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony; Stephen Higginson, the boy's grandfather, was renowned as a leading merchant and outspoken political figure during America's Revolutionary era. Young Higginson's father, under President John Kirkland, was steward at Harvard, was instrumental in the expansion of Harvard's Divinity School, and was active in the civic affairs of Cambridge. It was he who recommended that more trees be planted in the Harvard yard, a project for beautification which was almost thwarted when one of the college officials allowed his Yankee frugality to get out of hand by insisting, "We have no money to bestow on ornaments." But Stephen Higginson, Jr., persevered and the trees were planted. His youngest son, Wentworth, would have to stand up against even more formidable and widespread opposition to his own efforts at moral beautification.

It appears there was never much money available in the Cambridge household into which Wentworth had been born. A Harvard steward did not receive high wages, but Stephen Higginson, Jr., felt compelled to maintain his large family and himself in a style proper to a nineteenth century gentleman. He contributed generously to charity despite his small income, and tended to view his position as steward as similar in more than name to the duties assumed by those men who administered the great English landed estates. The cost of maintaining a gentlemanly appearance, however, did not cause any real economic hardship during his son's boyhood. Wentworth's Cambridge youth, on the contrary, seems to have been filled with much leisure. The personal fortitude of Louisa Higginson, his mother, helped the family through any difficult times. Her influence was especially important to her youngest son Wentworth, for Stephen Higginson, Jr., died when his son was not yet eleven years old.

Emerson, it is said, always felt the presence of historical ghosts in the streets of Cambridge. One might try to slay some of these ghosts, as Emerson had attempted to do in his famous Divinity School Address, but still Harvard and Cambridge remained a congenial place for them.

Young Higginson, as a Cambridge boy, was also confronted by the many ghosts of Cambridge history, and he remained convinced that the dramatic presence of the historical past throughout his youth forced upon him a feeling for the ideals of American life. But ghosts by definition are amorphous, and their exact identities are usually ambiguous. Besides, to decide which ghosts are deserving of the most veneration depends more on things of this world. Nevertheless, to be a Cambridge boy, and a Higginson, meant that the American Revolution could be recalled with relative ease — the Hartford Convention with less clarity — and that civic duty constituted an essential part of the values imbued by family training. Higginson's Harvard undergraduate years also did much to develop and shape a personality which would help move him into some of the great events of the ante-bellum years.

At the early age of thirteen Wentworth joined the class of 1841. He was the youngest of the entering freshmen and was perhaps the tallest. Close to six feet in height, extremely thin, and somewhat awkward in appearance, he eagerly helped to launch Harvard on her third century of existence. Harvard was different in 1837 from the Harvard which Higginson's older brothers had attended. Boston-Concord Transcendentalism, though under attack, was attracting attention and gaining some favor among students and faculty. And while the critics of the Transcendentalists might accuse them of a certain headiness, this headiness could not be attributed to any affinity for alcohol. For both liberal and conservative had been touched by the temperance crusade. At this time, one elderly commentator had even remarked, but perhaps with some exaggeration, that he had attended his first Harvard Commencement at which no student or visitor was at all inebriated. For Higginson, throughout his life, temperance was to be a prerequisite for judging personal character; Transcendentalism was to provide a frame of reference with which to view society.

At Harvard, Higginson pursued studies under Henry Longfellow, Carl Beck, Benjamin Peirce, Cornelius Felton, Levi Hedge, and Edward Tyrell Channing. He listened, with varying amounts of attention, to the Unitarian sermons of the Wares, of John G. Palfrey, and of James Walker. As a student of Professor E. T. Channing, a man who exerted a lasting influence on Higginson's style of writing and manner of speaking, the boy wrote that the world too often "only judges from appear-

ances. But a worthy man in [his] own heart . . . knows that he has done his duty and will be enabled . . . to bear his loss of reputation." In another undergraduate essay, which anticipated his consistent sympathy with immigration to America, Wentworth argued that people too often ridicule foreigners for "any departure from the customs of their own nation." In his junior year he was given the opportunity to exercise his oratorical skills at the annual Harvard Exhibition performance; equality as a distinctive American ideal was the topic of his public address. The young speaker admitted afterwards that he had frequently stumbled over words in the course of the talk because he had made too much effort to appear relaxed and to scan the faces of his audience to determine who was listening to him. A year later his graduation part showed marked improvement over that previous bit of oratory, though one critical spectator judged the address "well delivered [but] flighty."

As a Harvard undergraduate Higginson was a conscientious and successful student, but not popular with his classmates. Yet things extracurricula, though limited in number, were appealing to him. He often attended an undergraduate debating club where important topics of the day were oratorically treated. Debated were such controversial subjects as capital punishment, imprisonment for debt, the comparative treatment of Negroes and Indians, and the relative merits of dueling. One debate, concerning abolitionism, almost never began for fear of offending Southern students, but respect for Southern feelings was waning, so the debate finally took place.

By no means, however, was Higginson, the teen-ager, only serious. In his diary are ample illustrations of light-hearted fun and youthful mischievousness. To be the youngest child in a large family and to lose his father just before adolescence did affect his behavior. Yet in a day when the dictum "Those now in town be directed to leave the college and the town of Cambridge" was not infrequently leveled at some erring undergraduate, Wentworth succeeded in staying out of the long-armed reach of President Josiah Quincy. He did partake, at least once, in the traditional fling around the "rebellion tree" during a student uprising against Charles Wheeler, who had succeeded Jones Very as Greek Instructor. But both Wheeler and Higginson survived this bit of discontent. At another time Wentworth readied himself to defend the yard against an impending assault from its perpetual rivals, the Cambridge

"townies." But Higginson was by no means conspicuous among the many Harvard pranksters and malcontents who later became famous and who have been so colorfully described by the various chroniclers of the college.

Midway in his senior year, during midsemester vacation, Higginson toured south to Virginia. It was his first visit to the South. Earlier, as the son of the steward, he had met some Southerners, but Harvard, except for the Law School, was populated essentially only with Northerners, and most of these Northerners were New Englanders by birth. The older law students he met impressed him as being either generally uncouth, or specifically too willing to participate in unchivalrous flirtation with the young women of Cambridge. One prominent classmate was a Southerner, but had an air of obnoxious affectation about him and also was too ready to imbibe alcohol for Higginson to like him. Given even this sketchy personal experience, plus the presence of anti-slavery agitation in New England for at least the last decade, one might expect Higginson to be highly critical of the South during his trip. The contrary, however, was true. Though expressing discomfort at the menial position of the Negroes in the Northern city of Philadelphia, Higginson was remarkably sympathetic to Southern conditions. In a letter written to a classmate back home, he said, "But for the colour of the few visible domestics . . . I see nothing . . . to remind me that I am south of the Potomac. I never saw a more industrious or religious household, never one which less resembled the luxury, idleness, dissoluteness . . ." described by some fellow classmates. This favorable view was gradually transformed in his own mind during the 1840's. Higginson's criticism of slavery and of the South became a major factor in his thought and in his way of life well before Webster delivered his Compromise speech of the seventh of March, 1850.

Upon being graduated second in his class and being elected to Phi Beta Kappa, the seventeen-and-a-half year old Higginson became a teacher near home, at a Jamaica Plains day school for boys. He heartily disliked the job, but was able to find some solace in having sufficient time to continue his reading. He was excited by Carlyle, Coleridge, Dickens, and Hawthorne, as well as by some of the German authors who had gained such great popularity in American intellectual circles.

The young teacher himself wrote prolifically in his diaries. One ex-

cerpt does give some indication of the zeal he exhibited during the later, more militant phase of his life.

With others I rushed to the pump & tried to get to the fire through the house. . . . I was accordingly up on the 2nd ladder—a line of buckets having been formed—I got excited directly . . . staid on the ladder . . . then inside the house, working like a horse. I worked furiously all the time & my excitement support[ed] me through fatigue . . . tremendous labour . . . the thorough soaking [and] the violent blows from empty buckets. Oh it was glorious.

Fire-fighting adventures were not enough, however, to make the life of a private-school teacher attractive, and so Higginson tried tutoring temporarily the children of his Brookline cousin, the humanitarian-minded Stephen H. Perkins. Here he listened and talked with some of the leading liberal Unitarian ministers of the day like James Freeman Clarke and William Henry Channing. He also met Dr. Walter Channing's daughter and his own future wife, Mary Elizabeth Channing, who herself was much interested in reform and in liberal religion. Journeys to Elizabeth Peabody's Boston book shop not only meant the enlargement of his library, but also further stimulated his interest in Boston-Concord Transcendentalism and in its magazine, the *Dial*. The need in American life for a passionate kind of intellectualism was a theme he derived from his reading. Sometimes, while in Boston, he heard the moving anti-slavery oratory of Wendell Phillips and it too left him much impressed. By 1844 Higginson wrote, "I have pretty much concluded that a consistent abolitionist . . . must choose between the Liberal Party and the Disunion Party. I don't like the dilemma at all, but I fear I must come to it."

His contacts and experiences in Brookline helped move him to return to Cambridge to study independently without matriculating at Harvard. In 1844, a year later, he entered the Harvard Divinity School, but withdrew after one year. Commenting on one of the discussions, he wrote in his notebook, "Unsatisfactory, more so than any we had before. Nothing new brought out . . . words, words, words."

The words of a petition circulated around Cambridge, which opposed the annexation of Texas to the United States, did have greater meaning to Higginson. With the outbreak of the Mexican War a few months later, he wished Massachusetts would have the courage "to refuse her quota" of troops. He hoped she would defy Secretary of War William

Marcy's proclamation to Governor George Briggs, which stated, "Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the origin or necessity of a war, the constitutional authorities of the country have declared war with a foreign country exists." Higginson and some of his contemporaries viewed this war as a Southern plot to extend slavery; J. G. Palfrey, formerly dean at the Divinity School, agreed, and soon entered politics in the role of a "conscience Whig." Anti-slavery meetings began to grow larger, and Higginson was seen at them with greater frequency than previously. At one of these meetings, describing the reception to a speech delivered by a Northern Negro woman, he depicted the audience's appreciation as "a truly beautiful and noble scene, one which opens to one's view the prospect of a Future where Human Brotherhood shall be a reality of daily life, & honour & respect be given where they were due." His conception of a better world focused more and more on the anti-slavery issue, and his life goals moved increasingly toward a desire to participate in the "great period of commencing Reconstruction."

Befriended by a new group of divinity students, and having conceived of the Divinity School as growing more liberal, Higginson felt encouraged to return to ministerial training in September, 1846. He did so with increased determination. To a former graduate of the school he wrote, "Oh Sam, we can do something to help this poor world along, if we keep true to ourselves. [If I could preach] to a congregation like Theodore Parker[']s in size and composition] I should feel as if every sermon were as good as a miracle."

In July, 1847, Higginson was graduated and preached a Visitation sermon which stressed the clergy's obligation to take up the cause of reform. During the following September he was ordained, though not yet twenty-four years old, as minister of the First Religious Society at Newburyport, Massachusetts. At the ordination by Higginson's invitation, W. H. Channing, J. F. Clarke, and T. T. Stone — probably the three most liberal New England Unitarian ministers with the exception of Parker — thundered against societal abuses from the high-perched pulpit of this Newburyport church. The editor of the conservative Newburyport *Daily Herald* listened, and in return sounded a warning. The new minister, said he, has "radical and imaginative notions"; man has as much chance, he argued, to alter a God-governed world as a farmer has who wants to control the weather. But Higginson believed that past

men had made significant changes in the world and that other men could do so in the future. "I have no sort of doubt," said the new minister, "of its being my mission — in some form or another — that is *speaking* to men, in the pulpit or elsewhere."

Speaking to men soon meant preaching on behalf of liberal religion, temperance, woman's rights, peace, and anti-slavery. The voices of others were also brought to the ears of his congregation. He surprised and shocked his listeners one Sunday morning by inviting without any previous announcement the formidable Theodore Parker. Higginson was directly responsible, furthermore, for summoning Ralph Waldo Emerson to address the local Lyceum. And to many men of that day, Parker and Emerson were the twin apostles of atheism and anarchy.

Political issues soon attracted the Reverend Mr. Higginson's active interest. With Martin Van Buren as the Free Soil presidential nominee against the Whig Zachary Taylor and the Democrat Lewis Cass, the minister electioneered for Van Buren and for the local congressional Free Soiler. When the Whigs triumphed and some of the leading men of the First Religious Society helped finance a torchlight parade through the streets of Newburyport, Higginson reminded his parishioners that "torches might turn night into day . . . but never moral darkness into light. . . ." A few weeks later, on Thanksgiving morning, members of the church settled in their pews to hear the minister's special Thanksgiving sermon. He began by once again chiding them about the recent Taylor victory, and went on to assert that the president-elect was a slaveholder, and that "slavery or no slavery, consistency or inconsistency, honor or dishonor, that spirit in the Northern people which 'lives by bread alone' [had] secured its PROTECTIVE TARIFF." To charge most of his congregation with having supported a slaveholder for president because of self-interest and a desire to procure a tariff for monetary gain could have hardly been a pleasant appetizer for many Newburyport Thanksgiving dinners.

A few more such conflicts between minister and congregation, evidenced by decreasing church attendance, soon made it clear to Higginson that he was no longer wanted as minister. So he officially resigned in 1849, having labored two years at the Newburyport helm. Strongly had he felt that the words he had spoken were the truth, and with greater frequency would he be outspoken for what he deemed was

God's truth, and act firmly upon what he thought was God's conception of right. The Newburyport *Daily Evening Union*, though against abolitionist immediacy, lamented the end of Higginson's ministership because it saw in this termination a violation of free speech. The editor facetiously suggested that a committee of public safety be set up to censor, in advance, the sermons of future ministers.

Remaining in the Newburyport area for another three years, Higginson continued to be active in community affairs. He delivered Sunday evening talks and Lyceum lectures; and he helped to raise money for, and to organize and teach, a free evening school for those townsmen over fifteen years of age who were unable to read or write. For the most part, factory laborers, both male and female, attended these classes.

On the seventh of March, 1850, Senator Daniel Webster delivered his plea for compromise between North and South. Webster with his uncompromising words against the "strange enthusiasm" of the abolitionists relinquished his political leadership of much intellectual opinion. To Higginson, if compromise meant sanctioning slavery and the mandatory return of slaves to their masters, then compromise *really* meant that one side asserted, "Two plus two equals six," whereupon the other side compromised and agreed that two plus two equals five. One doesn't compromise, he argued, with the fact that slavery is a sin. Higginson's neighbor, John Greenleaf Whittier, concurred. "My door is open," he said, "to the oppressed from Austria or South Carolina." With final passage, in September, 1850, of the Fugitive Slave Bill, Higginson, in a daily column which he had just begun in the Newburyport *Union*, exclaimed, "We pledge ourselves . . . never to cease from agitation until that law be not only repealed, but replaced by another as vigorous for freedom as this for slavery. . . ." Here was a vow which he abided by with all his energy.

It was with reluctance that the parishless minister accepted a month later the Free Soil nomination for Congress. His words had varied from advocacy of political agitation to advocacy of a Garrisonian brand of disunion. But the opportunity to speak to a new audience as a political office seeker was too filled with possibilities for him to pass up. Said he, "If you want someone to elect, you had better look elsewhere — but if you want someone to stand and be shot at, it will be so." On the way

down to defeat, to be sure, verbal bullets were also fired from the Higginson arsenal. Defeat was neither surprising nor inglorious. He aired his anti-slavery views in the stump speeches he delivered during the election campaign.

The first actual experience Higginson had with the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Bill occurred at Boston in April, 1851. Thomas Sims, an escaped Georgia slave, had been captured and placed under arrest. It was now the law that a runaway slave had to be returned to his master with the greatest possible haste. But Higginson asked himself, and all who would listen to him, "Is it not a crime to permit a fellow being to be carried into slavery . . . ? Can there be any moral obligation to commit a crime?" Yes, it was a crime, and no, there could be no such moral obligation, answered the Vigilance Committee, which had been set up to meet such questions. The committee members — and Higginson was one of them — were certain there was a law higher than man-made law which forbade sanctioning slavery. Samuel E. Sewall, Robert Rantoul, Jr., and Richard Henry Dana, Jr., volunteered their legal services in defence of Sims. The law enforcement authorities, with the memory of the successful escape from Boston of the captured slave Shadrach a month earlier, were more fearful of another such incident than they were of the court giving Sims his freedom. A large contingent of policemen was placed at the entrances to the Court House; four feet off the ground, completely surrounding the building, was draped a heavy iron chain. Higginson still hoped to free Sims.

His plan was to capture, in pirate fashion, the ship *Acorn* in which Sims was expected to be carried back to Georgia. Higginson's other plan was to place mattresses near the Court House, during the darkness of night, and by means of a prearranged agreement with Sims — through a liaison — have the Negro jump from the top story of the building onto the mattresses, at which point he would be met by a carriage and whisked off to Canada. Neither plan could be put into action. It was uncertain whether the *Acorn* would be the transporting ship for Sims; and before the mattress plan could be put in motion the authorities installed bars in the windows of the room in which Sims was being held.

The continual secret meetings and messages required during the Sims incident moved Higginson to reflect on the paradox of it all. "It is so strange," he mused, "to find one's self outside of established insti-

tutions; to be obliged to lower one's voice and conceal one's purpose; to see law and order, police and military, on the wrong side, and find good citizenship a duty."

Sims arrived back in Savannah, Georgia, on April 19. Theodore Parker reminded his audience that this date was, ironically, the same day on which in 1775 the "shot heard round the world" was fired. Charles Sumner also understood. To a leading anti-slavery man in Congress, he wrote, "The prosecutions here in Boston will keep . . . [anti-slavery sentiment] before our public." By now Higginson had come to equate the South with sin and slavery, with thriftlessness and moral degeneracy. His tour of part of the South while a Harvard undergraduate had occurred a decade earlier, but things had changed in the South since that time. And perhaps what was more important, his own views had changed. While many Southerners who were not even slaveholders defended slavery as the Southern way of life, many Northerners, like Higginson, came to view the South as both alien and inferior to the North. In anti-slavery speeches Higginson began to talk of his undergraduate Southern visit as the time he was irrefutably convinced of the horrors of slavery and of life in the South.

Before planning any further anti-slavery activities, Higginson assumed, in 1852, ministerial duties at the Free Church of Worcester, a Parkerite church that opposed certain conservative aspects of New England Unitarianism. The Free Church had the largest Protestant congregation in Worcester, a congregation which at times, according to Higginson, seemed to be more radical than he wished to be. Congregation and minister mutually stimulated each other. Boston had always been the arch-rival of Worcester, and Higginson's new townsmen prided themselves in being heirs to the legacy of western Massachusetts' radicalism. The minister bought a home in town, and it became a substation on the Underground Railroad; his house and his hospitality provided a stopping-off place for slaves fleeing to Canada.

At the end of May, 1854, Higginson was summoned to Boston by the Vigilance Committee in response to the seizure of the fugitive slave Anthony Burns. Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was imminent and there was much emotion exhibited by even those previously cool Bostonians. The committee held continual meetings, and prominent at these meetings was the Worcester minister. Force, he insisted, was the

only way the captured slave could be freed. Dana once again prepared a legal defence, as he had done for the Sims case. But Higginson and some of his Worcester men made their own sort of preparations. In the Higginson Collection at Harvard's Houghton Library there is a receipt for the purchase of one dozen hatchets sold to a Mr. Higgins at a 5 per cent discount. Guns and knives were also collected by the Worcester men. On the damp evening of May 26, Thomas Wentworth Higginson put his large black umbrella aside and led a group of men to a direct assault on the Court House where Burns was jailed. The Reverend Mr. Higginson, Harvard Phi Beta Kappa, master of seven languages, justifiably considered kindly, urbane, and charming by those who knew him, now had hold of a battering ram. The door was forced open and Higginson, with a few others, stormed in, but were met by a barrage of clubs and cutlasses wielded by the Court House guards. In the course of the melee one guard was killed and Higginson had his chin gashed by a sword, his head clubbed violently. Reinforcements failed to arrive in aid of the attacking band, so the charge was beaten back. But Higginson, by this act, believed he had irrevocably divorced himself from those well-meaning anti-slavery sympathizers who were mostly indignant umbrella wavers and furious cane shakers. Umbrella waving and cane shaking were flailing the air; abuses, in his opinion, were taking place on the solid ground of Massachusetts.

With the attack repulsed, federal troops moved into Court House Square. The adjoining streets were roped off, and the mayor called for the state militia. Inside the Court House, Dana spent four hours summing up the case for the defence, but to no avail. Burns would be sent back into slavery. In preparation for the march of the prisoner to Boston's Long Wharf, a six-pound cannon was dispatched from Charlestown, set up in the square, and pointed toward the crowd. The entire Boston Police force was pressed into duty, an act which moved the Chief of Police to resign in protest against the use of local manpower and local funds to enforce federal law by returning a man to slavery. Surrounded by a force of heavily armed guards, the captured fugitive slave — dressed in the new suit which the marshall and other special officers had purchased for him — was slowly marched to the docks. Some two thousand federal, state, and city forces participated in the rendition of Anthony Burns. On June fourth Higginson preached a sermon, "Massachusetts in

Mourning," to his sympathetic Worcester congregation. It was probably the most powerful sermon he ever delivered. Somberly and slowly he intoned, "Today is, or should be to every congregation in Massachusetts, a day of funeral service — we are all mourners." His voice grew louder and more excited as he defended the use of arms "if men array force against freedom." He continued:

I have lost the dream that ours is a land of peace and order. I have looked thoroughly through our "Fourth of July" and seen its hollowness and I advise you to . . . revoke [the] appropriation for its celebration . . . and only toll the bells in all the churches, and hang the streets in black.

The way to promote Free Soil is to have your own soil free . . . peaceably if you can; forcibly if you must. . . . No longer conceal Fugitives and help them on, but show them and defend them. Let the Underground Railroad stop here. . . ! *Hear O Richmond! and give ear O Carolina! henceforth Worcester is Canada to the slave.*

Burns was gone, but once again defeat was to be turned into a sort of victory by gaining new supporters, many of whom had been opposed or apathetic to the anti-slavery cause.

With the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill some New Englanders were encouraged to embark for Kansas. Down at the Boston railroad station, amidst the hubbub of goodbyes, the departing emigrants and their well-wishers sang words indicating that reforming zeal had been successfully linked to a heroically conceived past.

We cross the prairies, of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The Homestead of the free.

It took more than zealous words to make Kansas free. Not peaceful settlement, but bloodshed soon became part of territorial life. Higginson, in 1856, as an agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Society made two trips into this chaotic area. Through public speeches he encouraged the movement of free settlers to Kansas, and acted as overseer for the transportation of food, clothing, and Sharps rifles. He himself traveled armed. Kansas furnished an experience which further enforced his belief that the North and the South were irreconcilable. This view was expressed by his leadership of the Worcester Disunion Convention.

Said Higginson, "No sir! disunion is not a desire, merely; it is a destiny. It is in vain to talk of difficulties in *effecting* the process. The laws of human nature are taking care of these difficulties very rapidly."

"Bleeding Kansas" subsequently assumed even greater importance for Higginson and for the Union. For out of Kansas came John Brown and his four sons, in search of guns, ammunition and money. And in search of more anti-slavery action. Higginson became a member of the "secret six," a group of prominent Northerners who were in intimate contact with Brown and who led the fund-raising drive in his support. More than the others, did Higginson think Brown the right man for the hour. In the minister's opinion, Osawatimie Brown, the man with the piercing eyes, could strike a blow against slavery. Such a blow would either immediately end slavery by the spread of slave insurrection all through the South, or it would at least force the political parties to face the issue of abolitionism squarely. The other five members of the conspiratorial group — Samuel Howe, George Stearns, Gerrit Smith, Frank Sanborn, and Theodore Parker — had been outspoken, like Higginson, in behalf of abolitionism, yet John Brown was, to these five men, even more uncontrollably fanatic than the men they had heretofore met. Nevertheless, with Higginson on his side, Brown obtained the necessary backing from the "secret six." Assembling close to a thousand pikes to be used by those insurrectionary slaves, plus two hundred revolvers and two hundred rifles, John Brown plunged inside the South on October 16, 1859.

The exploit at Harper's Ferry resulted in overwhelming defeat; fifteen people were killed and John Brown was taken prisoner. Upon Brown's capture and the seizure of many of his private letters, some of the "secret six" fled the country. One member suffered a temporary breakdown and sought refuge at a mental hospital. In *John Brown's Body*, Stephen Vincent Benét wrote:

Only the tough, swart-minded Higginson
Kept a grim decency, would not deny.

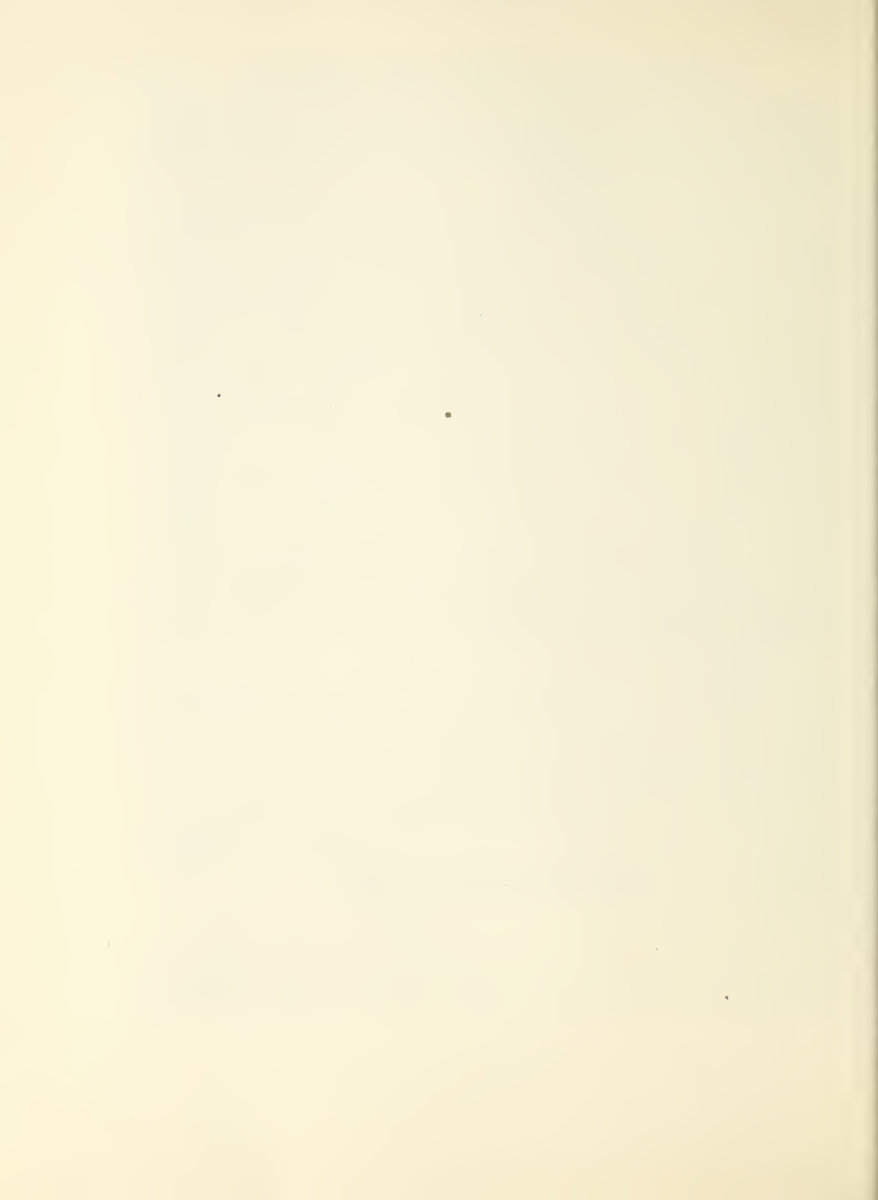
And it is true that Higginson stood his ground and even came to the defence of Brown, helped raise money to pay the cost of legal counsel, carefully planned for the escape of Brown, and considered a plan to kidnap Virginia's Governor, Henry Wise. Brown was executed and

Governor Wise was not kidnaped, but the sectional animosity which had been growing for so long reached a grand crescendo with the John Brown raid. The already difficult efforts at reconciling North and South became even more difficult.

In April of 1861 Fort Sumter was fired upon and the great and terrible Civil War had begun. A year later Higginson received his commission. He wrote to James T. Fields, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, "In a few days I expect to go to Beaufort, S. C., to take command of a black regiment which I would rather do than anything else in the world. . . ." Higginson had now officially changed titles. The Reverend Mr. Higginson had become Colonel Higginson. The Colonel would head the first freed slave regiment in the Union Army. Only Higginson, among those famous Massachusetts abolitionists like Phillips, Garrison, Parker, and Sumner, had clearly succeeded in both speaking and fighting for the anti-slavery cause. No longer, as in the days of the Sims case, would good citizenship have to be a sin and bad citizenship a duty. Loyalty to country and allegiance to liberty, for Higginson, had finally ceased to be opposing concepts. He had now brought to fruition, in dramatic fashion, an alliance between the life of the mind and the life of the body. In largely theoretical terms the necessity for such a union had been posed in America by Boston-Concord Transcendentalism. It had been accomplished in Europe by some of the intellectual revolutionaries of 1848.

For Higginson, a descendant of Francis Higginson, the minister, and Stephen Higginson, the statesman, Christian and democratic ideals could only be made real by social action and personal responsibility. His own personality — his temperament, his training, and his subsequent needs — interacting with the great historical forces of the ante-bellum years, produced a man both intrinsically interesting and historically significant.

With love and admiration William Dean Howells, commenting upon Higginson's long and active life, wrote, "At the beginning he preached the good fight, and to the end he fought it." This surely applies to the ante-bellum years of Thomas Wentworth Higginson.



THE GEORGE G. WRIGHT COLLECTION

BY F. STUART CRAWFORD

Read November 4, 1958

JUST a hundred and ten years ago, on October 27, 1848, was born in Boston a man who, coming to Cambridge as a very young child, lived here until his death at the age of nearly eighty and became deeply wrapped up in the city and its welfare, which he did much in a quiet way to promote. George Grier Wright was the son of William and Ellen Wright. His father had come from England to this country in 1840, and from 1853 until his death in 1898 was the proprietor of a bakery on the southwest corner of Mount Auburn and Dunster Streets, on the site of the original First Church, property now occupied by the tailoring establishment of J. Press. The second floor of the building was used as an armory by the Cambridge City Guard until 1857, when it was remodeled as a residence for the Wright family, who had previously lived next door at 92 Mount Auburn. Both sites remained the property of the Wrights until 1926. It was perhaps in 1870, when the wooden building was replaced by one of brick, that William moved his residence to 13 Dunster Street. His son, George, and daughter, Helen, lived with him until his death in 1898. George and Helen then returned to quarters above the bakery, with an entrance at 45 Dunster Street, living there until 1902, when they moved to a house at 20 Mellen Street.

Young George was educated in the public schools of Cambridge, graduating from the High School in 1867. He was secretary of his class. The master of the school during his years there was the distinguished Shakespearean scholar, William J. Rolfe, whose "companionship" Wright recalls with appreciation in reminiscences of his schooldays published in the local press. Under Mr. Rolfe's guidance an enthusiastic debating society flourished, and it was no doubt here that George Wright first acquired his life-long interest in civic questions. A list he gives of some of the subjects of debate is, significantly, headed by the question: "Should partisan politics be considered in municipal elections?" and it was the cause of non-partisan municipal government in general, but particularly in Cam-

bridge, that remained Wright's most abiding interest during the rest of his life.

Shortly after his graduation he began his business career as a clerk for Gilman Brothers, wholesale druggists in Boston, but two or three years later, in 1870, he took up the grain business in Cambridge, with offices at 84-86 Mount Auburn Street in the new brick building where his father's bakery was also conducted. After thirty-two years as a grain dealer he retired in 1902, and the remainder of his business career was occupied with the care of various real estate properties in Cambridge and Brighton, amounting to over a million dollars in value, which he managed for the Harvard Associates and other trustees. His office remained at the same address until he at last sold the family property in 1926, after which his place of business was at 50A Boylston Street.

Wright was a member, at one time or another, of an astonishingly large number of organizations, but that he was not a mere "joiner" is indicated by the responsible roles he played in the administration of many of them. As a businessman he belonged to the Boston Commercial Exchange, the Boston Chamber of Commerce, the Boston Board of Trade, the Citizens' Trade Association of Cambridge, and the Boston Real Estate Exchange. He was a charter member of the Harvard Square Business Men's Association, which he served as its president from its founding in 1910 until 1915. In 1922 he resigned as chairman of the Municipal Affairs Committee of the Association in protest at the action of some members in applying for special licenses to exempt them from the twenty-minute parking ordinance the Association had worked to secure. On this occasion an editorial appeared in the *Cambridge Chronicle* for December 16, 1922, from which I quote:

George Wright is one of the few men who, for years, has given of his time and strength, without stint, to the promotion of the interests of Cambridge. He has studied the needs of the city, and evolved wise methods of dealing with difficult problems. More than this, he has been able, as a natural leader, to persuade other leading men in his section to adopt his views, and the measures he has devised. Few men in the city better deserve to be called "public-spirited."

In spite of, or perhaps because of, his courageous protest, he was again elected President of the Association in 1923, when the *Cambridge Sentinel* commented:

The sage of the Square, Geo. G. Wright, has been chosen to head the Harvard

Square Business Men's Association. A most sagacious choice, presenting a man of intelligence, character and energy, of so high quality that it is a pity to confine it to one little section of the community.

In 1925 Wright became the first and only president emeritus of the association.

Among social and fraternal organizations he was a member of Mount Olivet Lodge of Freemasons, of the Newetowne Club, of which he was treasurer from 1884 to 1890, and of the Cambridge Club. He was a charter member of the Colonial Club of Cambridge. In 1876 he was elected an honorary member of the Cambridge companies of militia, and became a contributing member of Post 56 of the G.A.R.

He served as clerk and treasurer of Christ Church in 1874, and as treasurer of the Prospect Union (sometimes referred to as "The Working Man's University") from 1894 to 1909; he was a member of its corporation from the beginning.

But the cause dearest to his heart was the promotion of civil service reform and of non-partisan municipal government. He was treasurer of the Cambridge Civil Service Reform Association for twenty-eight years, from 1881 to 1909, when it was merged with the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association, and he was treasurer of the old fifth congressional district Civil Service Reform Association throughout its existence. He belonged to the Massachusetts Reform Club, and was at one time treasurer of the National Municipal League.

In 1889 he was one of the organizers of the Library Hall Association of Cambridge, the forerunner of the present Cambridge Civic Association, and from the beginning until 1900 served as its secretary. I quote from his own account of the purposes of this association:

The Library Hall Association of Cambridge is a body of well-known citizens, representing all sections of the city, a great variety of occupations and interests, and all political parties. The purposes of the Association, as stated in the By-laws, are "to secure the nomination and election of proper candidates for municipal offices; to procure the punishment of all persons who may be guilty of election frauds, mal-administration of office, or misappropriation of public funds; to advocate and promote intelligent discussion of municipal affairs by the publication and distribution of reliable information in relation thereto." Above and beyond all questions of policy or of candidates, the Association supports and stands for the principle of non-partisanship in municipal affairs, asserting that in the choice of a city-government national issues have no place whatever.

The association published annually a "Record of City Government" (listing attendance and votes of members of the City Council), and the secretary was largely responsible for collecting and writing up this and other material on candidates and issues in each annual city election. While Wright was secretary, ninety-five per cent of the candidates endorsed by the association were elected.

He was also a member of the Good Government League, which replaced the Library Hall Association in 1903, and of the Cambridge Tax-payers' Association. He never sought public office himself, believing he could more effectively work for good city government as a private citizen, but in 1903, at the mayor's request, he became a member of the Sinking Fund Commission of the City, and was its chairman from 1912 until his final illness forced his retirement in 1927.

National politics occupied less of his attention except in 1884, when, upon the nomination of Blaine he became a member of the Committee of 100 of Massachusetts Republicans and Independents who bolted the party — the "Mugwumps." He served on the finance committee and as delegate to the conferences held in New York, and traveled 5,000 miles in New England and the West during the campaign of that year as representative of both the Massachusetts and national Independent groups.

Next to good government for Cambridge his chief interest was in the history of his city and of the town from which that city had been born only two years before his own birth. He began collecting printed material dealing with Cambridge almost as soon as he graduated from high school, and carried it on with undiminished enthusiasm until his death. He was a charter member of the Longfellow Memorial Association in 1882, and one of the original members of the Cambridge Historical Society in 1905. He was treasurer of this Society from 1924 until his death in 1928.

Both his civic and historical interests bore fruit in numerous published articles. He wrote various pieces in the *Cambridge Chronicle* and the *Cambridge Tribune* on such subjects as the first Town Hall, reminiscences of the Cambridge High School, the founding of the *Tribune*, the growth of the city, and the introduction of a pure water supply, and a paper of his on "The Municipal Government of Cambridge" was published in the *Proceedings* of the National Conference for Good Govern-

ment held at Philadelphia in January, 1894, and one on "Non-partisan Municipal Elections" in the national periodical *Municipal Affairs* in 1900. An account of the origin, purposes, and activities of the Library Hall Association appeared in the annual report of that association in 1896. An eleven-page pamphlet on "The Sinking Funds of the City of Cambridge" was published in 1915.

He read three papers before the Cambridge Historical Society, all of which will be found in the *Publications* of the Society. One on "The Cambridge Public Schools, 1800-1870" was read October 30, 1918, one on "Gleanings from Early Cambridge Directories" on January 26, 1921. The third, on "Early Cambridge Newspapers," was read for him at the meeting of January 24, 1928, which he was unable to attend because of his last illness.

Cambridge, indeed, may surely be said to have been the dominating preoccupation of George Wright's life. As in his preference for working for civic improvement as a private citizen rather than as an official, so in his life-long absorption in Cambridge and Cambridge affairs one is reminded of Socrates, whose single-minded devotion to Athens was so notorious that he himself felt he owed a loyalty to the city's laws beyond all his fellow citizens. Yet, while Socrates is reported to have been so city-minded that he rarely even took a walk outside the walls of Athens, a peculiarity he explained by saying that trees could teach him nothing, while men in the city could, it is interesting that almost the only facts I have found recorded about Wright's private life are that he was an amateur naturalist, and that, beginning when he was in his sixties, he was in the habit of taking walks of eight to fifteen miles starting at some country railroad station and ending at another. For some years his sister was his companion on these jaunts; after she was no longer able to go with him he continued them alone. And he had made a collection of books on the White Mountains.

He died after a long illness on May 20, 1928, survived by one brother, six nephews, and two nieces, and is buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery. By his will he left a fund for social work, two free beds to the Cambridge (now the Mount Auburn) Hospital, "preferably for unskilled workers," and other bequests to the Holy Ghost Hospital, to the Boston Floating Hospital, to the Cambridge Home for Aged People, to Christ Church

for missionary work and Sunday School, and to Harvard College "in recognition of service rendered from the Library."

The books on the White Mountains were left to the Cambridge Public Library. To the Cambridge Historical Society he bequeathed the result of the favorite hobby of his last sixty years, a collection of 152 volumes bound in three-quarters leather, each containing from one to over thirty publications concerned with Cambridge. The spine of each volume bears at the top the gold stamp "Cambridge Documents," at the bottom "George G. Wright," and in between, the inclusive dates of the various items contained, and occasionally a special title such as "Harvard Square Business Men's Association," "Old Home Week," "Charters," or "Miscellanies." The dates range from 1814 to 1926.

It is indeed a very miscellaneous collection. I imagine it started as a file of the reports of the City government, and these in fact probably make up the larger bulk of the collection. Each year the city issues a volume entitled "The Mayor's Address at the Inauguration of the City Government and Annual Reports Made to the City Council," or more briefly "City of Cambridge: Annual Documents." Of this publication, sometimes running to over eight hundred pages a year, the Wright Collection has a complete set from the beginning of the city government in 1846 through 1926, and for most years a duplicate copy also. For many years the School Committee and the Park Department published their reports separately as well as in the "Annual Documents," and these separate issues were in many instances more full, or in other ways different from those in the omnibus volume; they were also often illustrated. Of these also Wright collected fairly complete sets, with duplicates for most years. Other separate reports of City departments such as the Board of Survey, the Planning Board, the Superintendent of Streets, and the Water Board, are well represented at certain periods, while still other regularly issued documents are found only for a few years; for example, the list of dog licenses for 1898, 1899, and 1901 only, and the list of jurors for 1902 to 1906 and for 1909. From the period before 1846 the best represented serial is the Annual Report of the School Committee, for 1841 to 1846.

There are also many incomplete sets of annual reports of numerous organizations not connected with the government — hospitals and philanthropic institutions, social and fraternal associations — in which Wright

was interested. Those best represented are the Cambridge Hospital, the Avon Home "for children found destitute within the City of Cambridge," the Cambridge Social Union, the Prospect Union, and the Library Hall Association.

Apart from serials, he must have soon begun to preserve everything that came his way dealing with the city government. We find many brief reports of City Council meetings on special issues, and much longer transcripts of legislative hearings bearing on the interests of Cambridge.

Most of the publications I have mentioned so far probably came to Mr. Wright without any special effort on his part, were preserved, and eventually bound from time to time. Apparently, when he had acquired enough documents to fill a good-sized volume, he would have them bound with little regard for homogeneity of subject matter, although in many cases one year's issue of the City "Annual Documents," either with or without the separate School Committee and Park Department reports, is bound alone. Thus some volumes bear the date of a single year, others may range over several years.

When we come to the items in the Collection which Wright must have sought out as a collector, we find a much more miscellaneous character. Evidently he kept his eye out for everything he could find having any connection with Cambridge. There are many old sermons delivered from Cambridge pulpits, mostly on special occasions, publications on the history of some of the churches, guide books, tax bills, high school graduation programs, real estate prospectuses, accounts of celebrations, one or two early Harvard catalogues, published addresses, books on the early history of Cambridge, the souvenir program of the opening of the University Theatre. Here again, even more than with the previously mentioned material, the only principle of arrangement appears to be that what came to hand was bound when he had gathered enough to make a volume; within the volume the items are arranged by date.

The value of the collection as a whole is difficult to assess for one, like myself, with little experience in historical research. It is undoubtedly true that the greater bulk of the items, notably the annual reports of the city government and of other local institutions, could fairly easily be found elsewhere in Cambridge. And of the miscellaneous non-serial books and pamphlets a short random sampling has not revealed many that are not in Widener or Houghton. A few items I have not found in

the Harvard Library catalogue may be of interest as typical of the breadth of character of the Collection:

One of the earlier pamphlets is a "Report of Committee appointed by the Town of Cambridge to investigate the affairs of its Almshouse," printed in 1833.

A controversy of the sixties is represented by two publications, "An address to the people of Cambridge from the School Committee, concerning a recent case of corporal punishment in the Allston Grammar School," of 1866, and "Progress in school discipline. Corporal punishment in the public schools. Addressed to the citizens of Cambridge," by Morrill Wyman in 1867.

An amusing item of 1862 is a handbill beginning, "Stolen! From many citizens of Cambridge, on the 4th instant, the rest and quiet of the holy Sabbath Day. . . . This act was done by decision of the Union Railway Company to run their Cars on the Sabbath." The anonymous author, who signs himself PRO, continues by arranging in parallel columns the Fourth Commandment and the following injunction, which he supposes laid down by the offending Company: "Thou shalt *not* remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Seven days shalt thou labor and do all our work, for the Sabbath day we have blotted out, and now shalt [sic] do all the work we require at your hands. Let the Lord rest if He will on His Sabbath day and hallow it too, but you shall do neither the one nor the other. For, who is the Lord that the Union Railway Company should fear Him, or what profit can this Company gain by obeying Him?"

A twelve-page brochure which is presumably rather rare concerns the controversy which apparently resulted in the resignation of the Reverend Nicholas Hoppin as Rector of Christ Church in 1874. It contains a communication from sixteen ladies of the parish to the vestry expressing their feeling "that the prosperity of the church at this critical time would be furthered" by the rector's resignation. There follows a communication of similar tenor signed by nine other ladies, and a "counter-communication" from seventy-two others who believe "that the financial embarrassment of the church for the last two years has been largely if not wholly owing to a cause for which [the rector] is not responsible." Then comes a lengthy statement by the Reverend Mr. Hoppin explaining the financial situation, defending his course, but offer-

ing to submit his resignation if the parish will make arrangements to compensate him for the loss of his living. It is interesting to note that the signers of the three communications account for all but one of the ninety-eight ladies of the parish; the gentlemen seem to have refrained from putting their sentiments on record, except that it was William Wright, the father of George, who had been a member of the parish for thirty three years, who requested of the rector that these documents be printed. His request appears here by way of introduction, and in it he refers to Mr. Hoppin's reply as "your honest, logical, and unanswerable statement." Incidentally, this was the year in which George Wright served as Clerk and Treasurer of Christ Church.

In spite of the fact that there may be few really unique copies of books and pamphlets in the Wright Collection, it will surely be convenient for students of various aspects of Cambridge's history to have available in one set of volumes so representative an assemblage of documents. For the less serious browser the collection is full of attractions.

Among the subjects best represented is that of the public schools. The annual reports of the School Committee have already been mentioned. Of special value, since not likely to be found in other files of these reports, is the clipping of an editorial from the *Cambridge Tribune* which is pasted inside the cover of the report published in 1914. This is a castigation of the behavior of the Committee for that year, who, being morally bound to print the report of the previous year's Committee, had presented as "the report of the Committee and of the Superintendent" the Superintendent's report alone, actually suppressing their predecessors' report for fear of invidious comparisons with their own record. Another interesting item is the quarterly report card, from the year 1850, of a student in the Cambridge High School. The High School graduation programs are preserved for ten of the years between 1850 and 1882.

There is also a rich mine of material, perhaps not easily found together elsewhere, on the streets of Cambridge, especially deliberations and orders of the City Council with regard to the construction and acceptance of new streets and the improvement of old. For example, there are several documents concerned with a proposed widening of De Wolf Street, which was to become a tree-lined boulevard leading to Memorial Drive all the way from the Yard. This proposal was in the air from

1902 to 1908, but seems, like so many attractive civic projects, to have come to naught.

Public transportation is another well-represented field. There are numerous reports of the different street railway companies and fare schedules. We find some hint of the rivalry between competing companies, as in the protest of the Charles River Street Railway Company at the tearing up of their tracks "by the Union Railway or its employees" where they crossed the latter's tracks, although on a site granted by the Board of Aldermen. This was in 1882.

A fascinating book of 182 pages, issued in 1887, is entitled *The Meigs Railway*. This is a description by its inventor, Joe V. Meigs, of a most intriguing mono-rail elevated system. Its one rail being supported by a single line of columns, the structure is much less obstructive of light than the familiar two-rail elevated track with cumbersome supports. Unusual safety features are claimed for the invention by Mr. Meigs. A trial section of such a railway was actually built in East Cambridge, and an account of the tests there carried out, resulting in the approval of the State Engineer, is contained in the book, which is illustrated with many fascinating drawings.

Many items deal with the water supply of Cambridge, and reveal the gradual steps by which additional sources were sought as the city grew. Still another well-represented field is that of bridges.

I have left till last in this rather desultory survey of the material in the Collection what is probably its most unique and most valuable feature, namely, the newspaper clippings on certain topics in which Wright was especially interested. It would appear that he took pains to cut out and paste onto pages later bound into volumes of the Collection (often along with pamphlets) everything he could find in the public press about certain subjects at certain dates. Thus we find a considerable number of pages of clippings on the fiftieth anniversary of Cambridge as a city in 1896, and on the sinking funds of the City in 1915 and again in 1917. A whole volume is occupied by clippings and other literature on Old Home Week in 1907, another on the revision of the City Charter, 1913-1916. Another contains stories and articles on the history of Cambridge clipped mostly from the *Chronicle* or *Tribune* from 1910 to 1926. Three volumes are devoted to items on the Harvard Square Business Men's Association and its activities from 1910 to 1923, when, under Mr. Wright's

leadership, it had been very active indeed. These are surely a rich mine of material for historians of Cambridge business.

And finally, Mr. Wright's chief interest: Cambridge politics. Under the heading "City Elections" he gathered every conceivable item dealing with the annual municipal elections. Here we find not only everything in the newspapers — editorials, accounts of candidates' campaigns and speeches, discussions of issues, election returns — but also all the ephemeral publications connected with elections, such as campaign literature issued by the various parties, candidates' appeals for support, and even copies of the ballots. Before 1878 we find only a few items, mostly ballots, which he presumably picked up later. The clippings begin in 1878, when Wright was thirty, and from that time on he obviously let nothing connected with the annual campaigns escape him. At first the election material for each year occupies a few pages in a volume largely devoted to other documents, but the number of these pages grows steadily until by 1896 the material for each year takes up a whole volume by itself. After 1915, perhaps as the result of less heated elections under the new charter, the material falls off somewhat in bulk; the last volume of this sort covers the campaigns of 1919, 1920, and 1921. Why there is no coverage for subsequent years I cannot say, but it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Mr. Wright just hadn't got around yet to the immense labor of clipping and pasting up the items of the last few years of his life.

Because of the very miscellaneous character of the Collection, and its arrangement chiefly by the order of acquisition of the items, it has been practically unusable in the absence of a catalogue. I was asked to prepare some sort of guide to the material this past summer, and it has been suggested that an account in this paper of the nature and principles of the catalogue which I have drawn up would be of value for those who might wish to make use of the Collection.

The first problem that presented itself was what method of reference to employ. As I have stated, the 152 volumes are normally distinguished merely by the dates, on the spines, of the included material, and in numerous instances two or three volumes bear the same date or dates. It was finally decided to number the whole Collection, arranged in chronological order, from 1 to 152; when two or more volumes bore the same date, they were assigned an arbitrary order among themselves. Small

paper labels were pasted at the top of each spine and inside each front cover bearing the volume number assigned, preceded by the letter W. Hence in the catalogue a volume is referred to as W98 or W133, as the case may be.

I fear the following account of the catalogue may appear to be largely an apology for its shortcomings. I wish to stress the fact that what I have done can be regarded only as a preliminary sorting out of the material in the Collection, and my catalogue, which is on cards and in longhand, could certainly be expanded by much more detailed analysis of items, and made somewhat more convenient to use by duplication of cards for the same publication under different headings. Other improvements which will be obvious as I continue my description might also be made, but at least a first step at sorting out this confusing mass of materials has now been taken.

I began by copying out on a card the title (preceded by the author's name, if any) of each separate publication in the 152 volumes. Place of publication, publisher's name, date, and the number of pages were added. In numerous cases where there was no title, a brief description of the content of the document was substituted in square brackets, which were also occasionally used for other data not contained on the title page. In the upper right hand corner of the card was placed the number of the volume of the Wright Collection in which the document was to be found; if there was a duplicate in another volume, this fact was noted. No indication of the placing of an item within a volume is given, and this may in many cases entail rather laborious searching in a volume containing numerous items. But there were practical difficulties in the way of devising any scheme of numbering individual publications. Actually many of the volumes still contain a loose sheet of paper on which Mr. Wright had listed, apparently for the guidance of the binder, the dates and a catchword title (such as Almshouse, Water, School, Hoppin) of the items in the order in which they were to be bound. But these are missing from many volumes, and can hardly be expected to remain indefinitely even where they are still preserved. One project for the future improvement of the utility of the Collection might well be the pasting into each volume of a table of contents showing the order of items contained.

For a few serials represented by only two or three issues separate

cards were made for each issue, if they were contained in separate volumes of the Collection. Series of greater length, if contained all in one volume, were listed on a single card, but with the separate paginations of each issue. But in the most frequent case of relatively long series spread over numerous separate and non-consecutive volumes of the Collection, as for example the City Annual Documents and many other sets of reports, I have listed the titles once, followed by the years represented, each on a separate line followed by the volume number in which it is to be found.

For instance, I quote a few lines from the list of issues of the "Report of the Trustees of the Cambridge Hospital":

1890	W ₄
1893	W ₅₀
1901	W ₅₀ ; another copy in W ₆₅ .

These cards, of course, bear no volume number in the upper right-hand corner, but if, as often occurs, the series takes more than one card to list, the indication "Card 1," "Card 2," etc. is to be found there.

The thousands of newspaper clippings, could not, of course, be listed separately except in the case of a few of special interest, such as some of the historical articles on Cambridge. But as the clippings occur in bunches each dealing with a single subject, you will find such cards as

[Clippings concerning the Library Hall Association's investigation of the civil service laws],

with the date 1890 and the volume reference W₄₈;

[Clippings and circulars, typescript petitions, concerning local transfers on the street railway, 1893];

[Miscellaneous clippings, letters, and other documents concerning Cambridge Taxpayers' Association, 1908-1912].

Groups of brief documents other than clippings which are gathered together in one volume and which could not practicably be listed separately are similarly lumped, as:

[Miscellaneous documents concerning extension, relocation, acceptance, etc. of various streets, 1903-1907];

[Circulars etc., concerning band concerts arranged by Citizens' Trade Association, 1892];

[Announcements and invitations from the Cambridge Historical Society, 1915-1926].

The great collections of clippings on City elections have been dealt with like the longer serials, the group for each year being listed on a separate line followed by its volume number.

The arrangement of the cards in the catalogue itself was the biggest problem. Since economy forbade the duplication of cards, and comparatively few items had a known author, it was determined to classify each publication by what appeared to be the chief subject dealt with, such as Celebrations, Churches, Harvard University, Newspapers, Water Supply, and so on. In many cases these main subject headings were subdivided, as Churches into Christ Church, First Church, First Parish, St. Paul's, etc.; Transportation into Boston Elevated, Cambridge Railroad, Union Railway, etc.

As an example of one of the more extreme cases may be given the subdivisions adopted of the main classification City Government: Aldermen, Annual Documents, Census, City Hall, Council and Officers, Employees, Finance, Heating and Lighting, Precincts, Vital Statistics. Yet an even greater number of topics which might have been made subdivisions of City Government were so well represented, often requiring subdivision themselves, that they seemed to deserve the status of main divisions. Hence in the catalogue, before all other cards headed City Government will be found a card reading:

City Government. (For before 1846 see Town of Cambridge.) See also Building Ordinances; Cemeteries; Charters and Ordinances; Dog Licenses; Elections, City; Electricity; Fire Department; Good Government League; Health: Board of Health; Housing; Jurors; Library Hall Association; Overseers of the Poor; Park Department; Parks; Planning Board; Playgrounds; Police; School Committee; Schools, Sewers; Streets; Streets: Superintendent of Streets; Survey, Board of; Taxation; Water Supply; Water Supply: Water Board; Wright, George G.

All of these have been treated as main headings, and many of them subdivided.

The main heading has been placed in the upper left-hand corner of each card with the subdivision, if any, on the next line, both in block capitals, and the cards as a whole have been ordered alphabetically by main heading and subheading. But all cards bearing the same subheading (or the same main heading, if not subdivided) are arranged simply in order of date, since no alphabetical arrangement seemed practicable.

Any such classification by subject matter is bound to be arbitrary in some degree, and I cannot claim complete consistency in determining whether a topic was to be made a main heading or a subdivision, as will be obvious from the example quoted above in the case of governmental activities. Another egregious instance is that of non-governmental organizations. Many such have their own main heading, such as the Cambridge Club, the Citizens' Trade Association, the Y.M.C.A.; while others like the Cambridge Humane Society, the Economy Club, and the Newe-towne Club are merely subheadings under the main classification Associations. But here again a "see also" card will refer the searcher to the location of associations not to be found under this classification.

I have tried to be generous with cross-reference cards. Thus there is a card headed Railroads, which bears simply the direction "see Transportation." A card headed Fresh Pond will advise you to "see Water Supply: Fresh Pond."

When a cross-reference is to a particular work, and there are more than two or three cards under the heading referred to, the date is given in parentheses after the heading. Thus:

EPITAPHS

see CEMETERIES: MT. AUBURN (1858);
CEMETERIES: OLD BURYING GROUND

(no date being given for the second reference because there is only one card with that subheading).

This type of reference is most frequently used for names of authors, or of persons mentioned in a title which has been classified under some other heading. For example:

ALBRO, JOHN A.

see CEMETERIES: CAMBRIDGE CEMETERY;
CHURCHES: FIRST CHURCH (1860),

the first reference being to an address by the Reverend Mr. Albro at the

consecration of the Cemetery, and the second to an account of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his settlement as pastor of the church.

It may seem strange to a user of the catalogue searching for a work by author's name that he will in most cases be directed by cross-reference to a subject-heading, but given the nature of the greater part of the material in the Collection, and the impracticability at this time of supplying duplicate cards, the principle of preferring subject-headings for the main entries of items appeared to be well justified.

I cannot close this paper without expressing my gratitude for the opportunity of working on this Collection, not only for the interest, to a layman at least, of the items themselves, many of which revealed to me unsuspected pages in the history of Cambridge, but also for the privilege of becoming acquainted, to some extent, through the Collection, with the personality of the collector, George Wright, for whose character I conceived an increasing respect and affectionate admiration. This life-long businessman gradually disclosed himself as a valiant fighter for honesty and decency in the civic life of Cambridge, a generous supporter of good causes, and a man with the instincts of a scholar, though handicapped by his limited formal education. I should be glad to know more of his private life, and I suggest that an investigation of this together with a more detailed study of his services to the city would be not only rewarding in itself, but a well-deserved recognition of a great, though hitherto too little-known benefactor of Cambridge.

DAVID THOMAS POTTINGER

BY ARTHUR EUGENE SUTHERLAND

Read January 27, 1959

HISTORICAL societies properly concern themselves with a great variety of matters. Germane to our corporate purpose is whatever may show, to the people of today, our Cambridge world through the eyes of yesterday. To this end we have rightly taken among our concerns the significant men and women who have lived and worked in our city.

David Pottinger, President of the Cambridge Historical Society from 1955 to 1958, is surely such a man. If we were to consider only his wise guidance of our affairs at the time when the Nichols-Emerson house came to be our most important material possession, this brief span of years would still be so important to us as to merit a grateful memorial. But an account of his life belongs in our annals for other reasons, reasons even more closely connected with the history of Cambridge, its University, and its neighboring cities. During many of his active years in Cambridge, he was here a principal officer of one of the world's great university presses. During his long and useful life as a teacher in Thayer Academy at South Braintree, many boys were deeply influenced by his character, his conscientious learning, and his talent as a guide to young students; of these boys Cambridge has had its fortunate share. In his own school and college days, he received, through distinguished sons of Harvard University, an impress which he felt all the rest of his life. His work as an independent publisher, his work as an author, all was done when he lived here. His life, in a true sense, has been part of the history of our city.

His parents were William and Adelaide Abbott Pottinger; he was born on Christmas Day, 1884, in their family house in East Boston. That community still kept, three-quarters of a century ago, appealing reminders of the departed glory of McKay's shipyard and of the clipper ships which from its ways had sailed swiftly to all the world's ports. The clippers had gone, by then, and with them had departed the captains, and

the ship-builders whose tall old houses stood on the high ground overlooking the water. By 1884 waves of newcomers were displacing the older residents; but a few of these earlier families still clung to their customs and their old houses. Among these were the Pottingers and their neighbors, the family of Professor Charles Hall Grandgent of Harvard, noted Dante scholar, who much interested and inspired the boy David during his early days in East Boston. For a time the Pottinger family changed their residence to Fall River; but David came back to East Boston High School, where he studied under its able principal John F. Eliot, and, among other outstanding teachers, Charles W. Gerould. Mr. Gerould, a graduate of Harvard in 1883, was a teacher of the old tradition, simple in his doctrines, ambitious for the intellectual growth of his students, exacting in his demands upon them. To trace the sources of a man's character and manners is a difficult enterprise, but perhaps to Charles Gerould's example might be ascribed some of the dignified courtesy, the restraint tempered by kindly consideration which was always apparent to the members of this Society when Gerould's one-time pupil presided over its meetings.

The fortunate members who came to our gathering at the Harvard Faculty Club on October 26, 1954, will recall with vivid pleasure David Pottinger's paper "I Too in Arcadia." In it he told of his coming to Cambridge to take entrance examinations for Harvard on a hot Commencement day in 1902, when, looking through the temporary picket fence, he spotted President Theodore Roosevelt. The Harvard of 1902 was that of Charles William Eliot in the years when he had seen his work grow to full fruition. This was the Harvard of Dean Le Baron Russell Briggs, of Charles Hall Grandgent, of Carl Günther von Jagemann, of William James, George Herbert Palmer, Luther Rice, of Hugo Münsterberg, George Foot Moore, and George Lyman Kittredge. It was a great time, as are all times at Harvard, and of this David Pottinger was at once conscious. He has told us that in these surroundings he instinctively felt at home, and that here he remained centered for the rest of his life, even during the few years when he was, as he put it, "not actually on the list of registered voters."

He graduated with the Class of 1906, and then for thirteen years followed the exacting career of a teacher in boys' schools. He first taught for three years at Fishkill-on-Hudson, New York, and then for ten

years he was an English Master at Thayer Academy in South Braintree, Massachusetts.

One of his students at Thayer, our member David Washburn Bailey, recalls his first sight of David Pottinger, when David Bailey went to the Academy in 1912 to take a competitive examination for admission. Mr. Pottinger had required the boys, among other ordeals, to identify the form of the verb "putting" and to give its principal parts; the present Secretary of the Harvard Corporation remembers with gratitude the forbearance of the English Master when young Bailey asked whether the verb was intended to be putting as in placing, or putting as in golf!

Mr. Bailey, who was to be a close friend of this teacher all the rest of his life, gives us a picture of David Pottinger forty-seven years ago.

A slim red-haired, ruddy-complexioned young man in a well-worn but always spotlessly neat blue serge, with the stiff-starched high turnover collar of the period. Pale blue eyes that could smile agreeably in conference, but that could bore like gimlets through any luckless student who was idle or inept in class. A cultivated voice — (he read beautifully when he wished to illustrate a literary point) — but a voice which could rasp when discipline was called for. And a friendly interest in students as individuals, which was something quite apart from the necessarily formal manners of the classroom. Long before it was the accepted thing for high school teachers to schedule conference periods with students, David was doing it. All his upper middlers met with him individually to go over their efforts at English composition and to learn by direct criticism, in the give-and-take of uninhibited conversation, how to express their thoughts with "unity, coherence, and emphasis." The quotation from Adams Sherman Hill is *a propos*, for David introduced to his high school boys and girls the teaching methods which Professors Hill and Briggs and Copeland had developed with success among college undergraduates. Small wonder that David's students, quick as boys always are to recognize genuine interest in their problems and their growth, came to make him their confidant and adviser. For many of them, the weekly conferences with him became one of the most significant features of life at Thayer Academy, and even the old headmaster, a formidable disciplinarian of the Harvard Class of '69, touched their lives less closely than David.

For some years, between 1907 and 1915, David found vacation employment at the Harvard Summer School. He also became an active member of the Appalachian Mountain Club and, accompanied sometimes by a group of schoolboys, camped in the White Mountains of New Hampshire or over the Maine boundary in Shelbourne or Farmington. Later he was a member of the first Appalachian group to develop the camp at Cold River in the Evans Notch, and later still he became a familiar figure for many years at Hayford's and in Wonalancet. He was a good camper, a steady if not powerful walker, always equable in disposition

when on the trail, though it is true that he complained occasionally of a feeling of acrophobia and could never be persuaded to look over the edge of precipitous cliffs, no matter how enticing the prospect below.

For several years (1910-1913) David was enrolled as a part time student in the graduate school at Harvard. Although his financial circumstances were such that he had to teach every year, he thought for a time of working towards the Ph.D. He did receive his A.M. in 1913; but an experience in a course in Middle English (he used to say) proved disillusioning. Two professors gave the course jointly. David had prepared a paper with considerable care, and Professor Kittredge marked it "A." The other professor, however, insisted that it be downgraded to an "A minus." He noted acridly that Pottinger had "paid too little attention to final silent *e* in the Northumbrian dialect.

In the latter years of his teaching at Thayer Academy, David Pottinger became actively interested in editing and publishing. In 1915 appeared his edition of *Hamlet* with which he hoped, as he said in his preface, "to help pupils in secondary schools to an understanding of Shakespeare's language and to some appreciation of his thought." Any teacher will understand the slightly wry insight of the editor's next observation, for he expressed some doubt of any schoolboy's capability of full appreciation.

David Bailey's memories of his friend tell of his change of interests at this period:

It was about this time that David turned from English studies to become one of the first men enrolled in the printing and publishing course offered by the celebrated Boston printer, Daniel Berkeley Updike, under the auspices of the then aspiring Harvard Business School. Updike's course was a small but intensive one. It was offered for a few years only, and it is quite probable that David Pottinger was its most distinguished "alumnus." At any rate, Updike became a continuing influence in David's life. The dozens of books which David later designed and produced at the Harvard University Press reflected the simplicity and artistic integrity which were typical of Updike. Even David's later years of association with another great typographer, Bruce Rogers, hardly diluted the Updike influence; indeed Rogers himself would not have had it otherwise.

By the fall of 1917 David was ready for a change in his life work. Teaching, though always rewarding in human satisfactions, he found increasingly exhausting; and he sought a new outlet for his energies in the publishing business. It is ironical that he should have made the break just at the time when he was offered one of the plums of secondary English teaching in New England—a senior mastership at Phillips Exeter. But David was not to be diverted, and—after a few months as advertising manager of the *New York Nation* under Oswald

Garrison Villard (during which that magazine printed a greater lineage of book advertising than it ever had before or was to carry for many years afterwards), he returned from Greenwich Village to Cambridge to take up a new post just then opening at the Harvard Press under its first director, C. Chester Lane. In more than a quarter-century at the Press David performed almost every imaginable staff function. He wrote advertising, treated with authors, traveled as salesman, supervised production, and — during the prolonged illness of the Press's second director, Harold Murdock — served as director *de facto* for months at a time. His understanding of authors' problems was sharpened by his own personal experience in the writer's craft. Even as a young teacher he had edited books; besides his school edition of *Hamlet* for Longmans Green, he had prepared an anthology of English essays for Macmillan. In after years he wrote and lectured on the history of printing, on typographical design, and on the early history of the publishing business on the Continent. He wrote many articles for typographical journals. His scholarly volume on *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Regime, 1500-1791*, published only a few months before his death, will stand as a permanent monument to his memory. Not intended to be superficially entertaining, it is readable, thorough, discerning, well documented and attractive to one more than superficially interested in the life it pictures. No future historian of the book trade will ever need to retrace the ground which David covered in the six or eight years of research which went into this work.

During David Pottinger's work at the Harvard University Press, but before he was given a corporation appointment by the University, he and David Bailey, in their spare evening hours, undertook a publishing venture of their own. They formed a partnership in 1925 under the name of Washburn and Thomas — taken from the middle names of Messrs. Bailey and Pottinger. Under that imprint they published some fifteen titles, including David McCord's early essays; a collection of charades written by Dean Le Baron R. Briggs; *Yankee Ballads*, by M. A. De Wolfe Howe; and the *Psalms of David in Metre, According to the Version Approved by the Church of Scotland* — generally called the "Scottish Psalter," with an introduction by Mr. Pottinger's long-time friend, William Allan Neilson. Washburn and Thomas was an admirable hobby for its participants, but an average of two titles a year is a heavy assignment for the spare time even of two talented men. Both partners, by the beginning of the decades of the 1930's, were finding their official duties increasingly demanding, and they wound up Washburn and Thomas. The business of the partnership had paid its own way, which is no small tribute to a publishing house run for the

fun of it. The Washburn and Thomas books show by the distinction of their typography the interest in printing as a form of art which was to occupy an increasing place in David Pottinger's later life.

In 1943 he left the Harvard Press to become Production Manager and Editor of College Textbooks for D. C. Heath and Co., and he remained in this work until his retirement in 1951. His remaining seven years were devoted to authorship and to the guidance of the affairs of the Cambridge Historical Society.

It would take a long time for the listener to hear read a list of Mr. Pottinger's many published essays on various aspects of the art of printing. In 1941, the Harvard University Press published his *Printers and Printing*. Of this book he says to his readers, in a charming foreword:

I imagine you are like one of the many people — book collectors, librarians, young men and women in publishing houses, and many alert readers — who from time to time have asked me various questions about printing. These inquiries have had little interest in minute points; they have really been searching for the means to increase their appreciation of typography and their enjoyment of books as works of art. Accordingly, in answering them I have had to simplify what is really a very complicated subject and to provide, as it were, a series of pegs on which they could later hang more detailed information. Although these chapters will not tell you how to become a printer, I hope they will partially satisfy your layman's curiosity.

It is a gracious little book, itself an example of beautiful typography. The pictures of early printing shops are charmingly selected; the examples of various types are pleasant to study; and from each page there emerges the understanding, the kindness, and the quiet humor of the author.

A tragedy of many a painstaking and scholarly writer, is that the end of his life finds a great book not quite written because the temptations and delights of research have been a little too attractive for a little too long. It was the deserved good fortune of David Pottinger, and of his friends, and of everyone who will wish to study the history of publishing, that during the last year of his life he completed his most significant writing, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Regime, 1500-1791*, published by the Harvard University Press. In its five parts this book tells of authors in the *Ancien Regime*, of the development of the book trade, of the master printers, of the workmen, and finally of the

auxiliary trades, such as paper-making, book illustration, and binding. Mr. Pottinger had long been interested in French writers. He had been a contributor to *The Critical Bibliography of French Literature*, Vol. III, edited by David C. Cabeen. He was naturally at home with the master printers of old France. His last book, as David Bailey said, "makes it unnecessary for students to engage in more research in its field."

May 21, 1932, Mr. Pottinger was married to Mildred Clark Stone in Wellesley. Their daughter, Evelyn Ann, born December 18, 1934, is following in the scholarly footsteps of her father. Most of the members of our Society must have had the pleasure at some time of visiting the Pottinger house at 9 Clement Circle where, in an atmosphere of cultivated leisure — if leisure is the right word for a man as busy as David Pottinger — he worked in what would be miscalled his retirement.

He had been a member of our Society since 1925. He had, most appropriately, served as Editor of our Proceedings from 1929 to 1940. He had been Secretary in 1942-1943; and again from 1948 to 1952. He was Vice-President in 1953-1954, and was President from 1955 until his death on November 30, 1958. He would have been seventy-four years old on Christmas Day.

Occasionally a man and an institution seem peculiarly suited to one another, and it would be hard to think of a President for our Society more fitting than David Pottinger. A sound historian in his own right, he was wonderfully suited to the encouragement and guidance of laymen interested in historical matters. His years of important business affairs had given him familiarity with matters of practical detail. Over our gatherings he presided with an easy and cordial dignity which will always be remembered by those of us who saw him. Tonight's meeting when we remind one another of him and of his work, now finished, is not for that reason sorrowful. Too much of him was grace and wit for us to be sad in his memory. *Meminisse iuvabit.*

ANNUAL REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1957

THE YEAR 1957 proved to be a busy and eventful one in the history of the Cambridge Historical Society, although when it opened with its fifty-second annual meeting on January 29 at the Longfellow House there was no indication of what was to come. On that evening the usual reports of the officers were read and accepted. Mr. Pottinger announced the resignation of Mr. Nichols as Treasurer after sixteen years of faithful and imaginative service. He also spoke feelingly of the death of Judge Walcott on November 11, 1956, and of how much the Society owed to his leadership.

This was the first year for changes in the major offices under the new plan for rotation. Miss Lois Lilley Howe became our Honorary Vice-President, and appreciation was expressed for the friendly and capable way in which Mrs. George W. Howe had served as Secretary. Mr. William L. Payson presented a most interesting and scholarly paper on "Notes on some Tory Land Titles." He limited them to those of the seven largest landholders and had maps to show their boundaries and their relationship to present street plans.

The spring meeting was held on April 23 in the new Radcliffe Graduate Center, 6 Ash Street, through the kind permission of Dean Cronkhite and President Jordan. The Dudley gavel and the new reading desk and lamp were used for the first time. Mr. Pottinger reported the bequest to the Society by Mrs. Frances White Emerson of her house and

land at 159 Brattle Street with the sum of \$20,000, the interest from which was to be used for maintenance. The property was to be used for the purposes of the Society but could not be leased or sold. A committee had been appointed to study the situation and later to report to the whole Council.

An important paper on "The History of the Inns and Hotels of Cambridge" was read by Mr. Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr., beginning with the first license granted in 1636 and carrying through three hundred years to the opening of the Hotel Continental in 1926. Afterwards the large number of members and their guests enjoyed viewing the rooms of the Graduate Center, so individually and attractively furnished.

The Garden Party meeting was held June 4 at the Longfellow House. Mr. Pottinger read the interim report of the committee on the Emerson bequest which expressed the responsibility of each member to take part in the final decision, and also he asked for expressions of opinion. Then Mrs. Amos N. Wilder presented an excellent paper on "Artemas Ward and the Siege of Boston," which described the important role played by her ancestor in the early days of the Revolution and was based in part on family letters and documents. The refreshments were served outdoors.

On Sunday afternoon, June 9, the Emerson House and its grounds were opened to the members of the Society so all might see what the bequest included. Ten ladies served as room hostesses.

For the fall meeting, held on September 24, we met for the first time in the Emerson House. A lively history of the house was read by Mr. Arthur E. Sutherland. He pointed out that although the deed for the land was dated 1657, no one knows who built the original house. He dealt mostly with the outstanding personages who had owned the house and kept it in tune with the times, Dr. Hooper, Judge Lee, and the Nichols family. Mr. Pottinger reviewed briefly the steps taken by the Council from the time of Mrs. Emerson's death to the present moment. Next, Mr. Payson moved that the bequest be accepted. The motion was seconded and discussion was called for. The vote, when taken, was unanimously for acceptance. There was a momentary, dramatic silence followed by applause.

A fifth meeting was held on October 15 to ratify changes in the wording of the By-laws and to ratify two new Articles proposed and

approved by the Council to meet the new conditions brought about by the acquisition of the house. The changes redefined the duties of the officers and authorized voting by proxy as well as in person. The first new Article established three committees — for Finance, for the House, and for the Grounds and Buildings. The second one established the position of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, to be held by the member of the Society acting as curator of the house. These changes and the new Articles were ratified by vote.

The Council met seven times during the year to attend to three main pieces of business in addition to the routine ones. The first dealt with finances, authorizing the new Treasurer to handle the Society's bank accounts and to give him the power to change investments with the consent of the new Finance Committee. The second dealt with the bequest of the house and all that entailed. The third was changing the By-laws to be in accord with the new conditions.

We are grateful to our speakers, to our officers, to all the members who served on hospitality, and this year particularly to the ladies who took charge of redecorating this house and to the legal members who drew up our various agreements and official documents.

Respectfully submitted,

ANNA D. HOLLAND
Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1958

DURING THE YEAR 1958 the Cambridge Historical Society continued to adjust to the ownership of a most interesting house. At our fifty-third annual meeting on January 28th held for the first time in the Lee-Nichols House, the usual reports of the officers were read and accepted, also that of the Nominating Committee. In addition Mr. Pottinger announced the membership of the three new Standing Committees. For the literary part of the program Mr. George I. Rohrbough read the sketch of "William Brewster, Cambridge Naturalist," written and read originally by Mr. Glover M. Allen in May, 1937. It seemed appropriate to read again this paper at a time when we were trying to preserve the last bit of our natural wilderness.

The spring meeting was held on April 22nd in the Lee-Nichols House. In our voting for the acceptance or the rejection of the proposed changes in the corporate purposes of the Society proxies were used for the first time, producing a vote of 196 in the affirmative and 2 in the negative. After this, Mr. Pottinger introduced Dr. Tilden G. Edelstein of The Johns Hopkins University, who read a paper entitled, "Thomas Wentworth Higginson, His Ante-bellum Days." It described the struggle in the young minister's conscience between being a law-abiding citizen and his deep feeling of the injustice of slavery.

The garden party meeting was held May 27th at the home of Mrs. Henry D. Tudor. In his opening remarks, Mr. Pottinger recalled that this was the sixth time that Mrs. Tudor had opened her lovely home for the Society. Mr. Clifford K. Shipton of the American Antiquarian Society read a paper on "Samuel Langdon, An Unsuccessful College President." Because of "his learning, eloquence and piety" Langdon was installed in 1774 as President of Harvard College, but in spite of his earnest endeavors he proved completely unfit for the position and resigned in 1780. After the paper the many members and guests wandered around the garden and viewed the old Wyeth House nearby.

The fall meeting was held November 4th in the Longfellow House.

Mr. Pottinger announced that the Commissioner of Corporations had allowed the changes in our charter made necessary by the acquisition of the Lee-Nichols House, also that the George G. Wright Collection, now stored in the house, had been indexed by Mr. F. Stuart Crawford. Mr. Crawford was then introduced and spoke on the life of Mr. Wright and read interesting excerpts from the collection. George Greer Wright had lived a long and full life in Cambridge, dying at the age of eighty, and during those years he had made a large collection (two hundred and fifty-two bound volumes) of papers and documents dealing with the City of Cambridge.

The Council held six meetings, which is more than would be normally necessary, but questions about the house arose which had to be settled. The big question was whether or not to have restored the two old wall papers in the west rooms, one upstairs and the other downstairs. We sought the advice of museum and antiquarian authorities, all of whom considered the two wall papers to be outstanding assets of the house and recommended their restoration. So after much thought the Council authorized Mr. William J. Young, Head of the Research Laboratory of the Technical Staff at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, to proceed with the work. A sidelight on the possible archaeological value of the parlor wall paper was shown by the great interest aroused at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London last summer when Miss Noyes showed them photographs of the paper in hopes they could identify it.

The Council also discussed the question of opening the house. The House Committee through its chairman, Mrs. Roorbach, presented its plan of holding an Open House on May 28th. The Council approved and voted a small sum for necessary paraphernalia. It also voted that no openings could be held during the renovation of the wall paper as it might delay this work. The May 28 Open House was well organized and gave promise of larger ones later on.

We were deeply grieved by the sudden death on November 30th of our President, Mr. Pottinger. He had been a member since 1925 and had served equally well in one office after another for a total of twenty-four years, a very distinguished record. The Society has suffered a great and irreplaceable loss.

Another link with the past was broken by the death on December 9 of Mr. John Taylor Gilman Nichols. He became a member in 1915 and

had taken an important part in the activities of the Society. His last service had been as Treasurer for sixteen years, 1941 through 1956.

We are very grateful to our speakers, to our officers, especially to Mr. John W. Wood, our Vice President, who has exercised the presidential powers these last two months, to the members who have served on our hospitality committees and the various standing committees, and to the legal member who has guided us through the intricacies of the law.

Respectfully submitted,

ANNA D. HOLLAND
Secretary

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1957

Income

Investments:

Savings Banks	\$555.72	
Bonds	44.29	
Common Stocks	1,323.80	\$1,923.81

Operations:

Membership Dues	\$1,166.00	
Guest Fees	34.97	
Sale of Publications	38.70	
Donations for Current Expense	5.00	
Special Donations	700.00	1,944.67

Total Income \$3,868.48

Operating Expense

Operations:

Meetings	\$519.90	
Clerical and Postage	270.53	
Printing and Stationery	120.68	
Acquisitions	34.82	
Publications	1,216.60	
Miscellaneous	64.52	\$2,227.05

Real Estate — 159 Brattle Street:

Repairs and Maintenance	809.90	
Insurance	442.67	
Other (Advisory)	75.00	1,327.57

Total Operating Expense \$3,554.62

Net Income \$ 313.86

STATEMENT OF INCREASE IN FUNDS

Permanent Fund

Net Capital Gains \$2,457.63

General Fund

Net Income for Year \$ 313.86
 Special Donations for House \$1,000.00 1,313.86

Plant Fund

Real Estate, Furniture and Fixtures,
 and Collections 4.00

Total Increase in Funds \$3,775.49

<i>Assets</i>		<i>Funds</i>	
<i>Permanent Fund Assets</i>		<i>Permanent Fund</i>	
Principal Cash (Checking Account)	\$ 1.00	Restricted Principal:	
Savings Accounts	5,462.77	Cook Bequest	\$ 1,006.67
Bonds, at cost (market value \$5,460)	5,038.54	Life Membership Fund	1,275.00 \$ 2,281.67
Common Stocks, at cost (market value \$26,539) ...	23,278.92	Unrestricted Principal:	
		Bequests and Donations	18,319.89
		Unexpended Income	10,722.04
		Capital Gains	2,457.63 \$33,781.23
<i>General Fund Assets</i>		<i>General Fund</i>	
Savings Accounts	6,424.83	General Fund	5,893.25
Cash (Checking Account) ...	468.42	Special Fund for House Renova-	
		tions	1,000.00 6,893.25
<i>Plant Fund Assets</i>		<i>Plant Funds</i>	
(At nominal values for record purposes)		Emerson Bequest	2.00
Land	1.00	Plant Fund	2.00
Buildings	1.00		
Furniture and Fixtures	1.00		
Collections, et cetera	1.00		
<i>Total Assets</i>	4.00	<i>Total Funds</i>	4.00
	<u>\$40,678.48</u>		<u>\$40,678.48</u>

Oakes I. Ames, Treasurer

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1958

Income

Investments:

Savings Banks	\$ 403.82	
Bonds	281.09	
Common Stocks	1,162.80	\$1,847.71

Operations:

Membership Dues	\$1,206.00	
Guest Fees	35.96	
Sale of Publications	23.50	
Special Donation for Mouse Renovation	1,000.00	
Voluntary Donations	835.00	
Contributions in Memory of David T. Pottinger	272.50	
Special Donations	2,300.00	5,672.96
		<u>\$7,520.67</u>

Expense

Operations:

Meetings	\$ 587.36	
Clerical and Postage	277.92	
Printing and Stationery	96.10	
Miscellaneous	157.15	\$1,118.53

Real Estate — 159 Brattle Street:

Repairs and Maintenance	1,189.93	
Insurance	257.40	
Acquisitions	89.88	
Other	40.00	1,577.21
		<u>2,697.74</u>

Net Income \$4,822.93

Deduct:

Addition to Structural Repair Fund \$1,000.00

Balance of Income for the Year \$3,824.93

STATEMENT OF INCREASE IN FUNDS

Permanent Fund

Balance, January 1, 1958		\$33,781.23
Additions:		
Emerson Bequest	\$20,000.00	
Anonymous Donation	1,000.00	
Associate Life Membership	50.00	21,050.00
Balance, December 31, 1958		<u>\$54,831.23</u>

General Fund

Balance, January 1, 1958		\$ 6,893.25
Add:		
Balance of Income for the Year		3,824.93
Balance, December 31, 1958		<u>\$10,718.18</u>

Plant Fund

Balance, January 1, 1958		\$ 4.00
Add:		
Appropriation from Net Income to		
Structural Repair Fund		\$ 1,000.00
Balance, December 31, 1958		<u>\$ 1,004.00</u>

<i>Assets</i>		<i>Funds</i>	
<i>Permanent Fund Assets</i>		<i>Permanent Fund</i>	
Savings Account	\$ 4,325.65	Restricted principal:	
Bonds, at cost, (market value \$20,951)	21,183.29	Cook Bequest	\$ 1,006.67
Common stocks at cost (market value \$38,988) ...	29,322.29	Emerson Bequest	20,000.00
		Life Membership Fund	\$22,331.67
<i>General Fund Assets</i>		Unrestricted Principal:	
Savings Accounts	10,247.79	Bequests and Donations	\$19,319.89
Cash in Checking Account	470.39	Unexpended Income	10,722.04
		Capital Gains	30,041.93
			<u>2,457.63</u>
			\$54,831.23
<i>Plant Fund Assets</i>		<i>General Fund</i>	
(Non-cash items at nominal values for record purposes)		General Fund	\$9,718.18
Savings Account	\$ 1,000.00	Special Fund for House Renovation	1,000.00
Land	1.00		
Buildings	1.00	<i>Plant Fund</i>	
Furniture and fixtures	1.00	Structural Repair Fund	1,000.00
Collections, et cetera	1.00	Emerson Bequest	2.00
		Plant Fund	2.00
			<u>1,004.00</u>
			<u>\$66,553.41</u>

Oakes I. Ames, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE EMERSON SCHOLAR FOR THE YEARS 1957 AND 1958

AT THE OUTSET of this first report of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, the thought uppermost in his mind is the extraordinary kindly helpfulness which his wife and he have encountered on all sides. Merely to list the persons and their deeds would take more time than you wish this report to consume. The good things which have been handed down from the past are surely safe for a long future when so many are willing to take such trouble for them.

Of these many persons I shall name now only one, hoping that all the others know already the gratitude which the Society, and we two in it, feel toward them. David Pottinger's memory needs no words from me, but we do all need words ourselves for our loss. There is a little comfort in knowing that he lived to read, in that periodical which is not seldom severe in its reviews, I mean the *Times Literary Supplement*, a review of his own recent scholarly pioneering book which was full of the hearty praise the book deserves.

Frances White (Moffat) Emerson died 10 March 1957 and her (second) husband, William Emerson, 4 May 1957. The President of the Society, David T. Pottinger, had conferred at length with them about the house, so that when the will was probated there was a clear understanding of their wishes; and this understanding the President was at pains to communicate to the future Emerson Scholar during their talks in the summer. The Emersons certainly did not wish to create a busy administrative "center," or tourist "mecca," with signs swinging in the breeze; neither, at the opposite extreme, did they want the house to be merely a private dwelling. Their desire and their hope were that without ceasing to be what it always had been, it might also belong, through the Society's good offices, to the Cambridge community.

This understanding was reinforced by talks with Mrs. Emerson's son, Donald Moffat, the writer, whose generosity to the new inhabitants is recorded gratefully here. He lived to know that a transition was made, and to believe that some at least of the feeling he and his family had for the house had been handed on.

William Emerson's great folio volume on the bridges of France has been installed in a place of honor; many of his other books, including much of his architectural library, the kind gift of Donald Moffat to the undersigned, remain where they were; and a fine picture of Ralph Waldo Emerson hangs where it always did. We have obtained copies of some of Donald Moffat's books. Certain editions of William Blake, Mrs. Emerson's great interest, and the subject of the distinguished collection begun by her father, William Augustus White, were also given to me, and remain in the library. (It is said that Mrs. William Emerson's father bought the house from the proceeds of the sale of a single Blake item.) These are indeed only symbols, but their presence does a little to express the relationship of the house to those who gave it to the Society. May their minds and spirits always abide in it!

Mrs. Donald Moffat and Mr. Alexander Moffat were also helpful during the period of transition. Mr. Edward W. Forbes, a member of the Society, and a cousin, as well as college room-mate, of William Emerson, has been a kind and learned counselor, as will appear below. Walter Barron, who had been with the Emersons for several years, stayed on through the summer. We moved in on 1 September 1957 — necessarily before the Council had fully sanctioned us — and we became strictly legitimate occupants during the next month. Mr. William L. Payson was occupied throughout a long period in arranging legal aspects; we signed an agreement with the Society at the end of December 1957. The appointment as Emerson Scholar was proposed by the Council and voted by the Society on 4 September 1957.

The scores of volumes of bound Cambridge records, comprising the Wright collection, were moved into the house in the spring of 1958. Except in a vague general way, no one knew what was in these volumes, and Mrs. Henry D. Tudor urged that some sort of catalogue be made. Knowing as I did that Mr. F. Stuart Crawford had coped successfully with Avicenna and the Mediaeval Arabic versions of Aristotle, I thought that possibly he might be undaunted when faced by old Cambridge hospital reports. David Pottinger discussed the project with Mr. Crawford, and the labeling and cataloguing went forward in the Naples room during much of the summer, ending just in time for even dustier work to begin there, as I shall report in a moment. We can all feel happy about the whole Crawford operation: not only did an entertaining evening

result from it when he read a paper on Wright, but, as you should also know, all of the volumes are now labeled on the outside, and there is a complete card catalogue.

About many other aspects of the house there was much committee pondering of just what to do, but I think that all of us can be happy, as we look back, that during the past fifteen months things have somehow worked themselves out as they should. The first task, it is now plain, was the study of what we have, and the conservation of it in such form as to make it available and safe. We could not well decide what to do to the house, until we knew what is really here.

The task of exploration is now about half completed, but the half that is done is the more difficult, and probably the more exciting, half. Three particular jobs have been tackled. First, the discovery of the old fireplace in the dining room. It was opened up by Mr. Abbot L. Cummings, of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, who was induced by Mrs. William L. Payson to take an interest in the house. The Emerson scholar assisted by carrying out masses of old bricks, and labeling, under Mr. Cummings' directions, a large series of objects, ranging from mouse nests of venerable age to masonry, now all stored and orderly; while Mrs. Dow courageously combatted the clouds of eighteenth century dust, the only thing of which we did not see fit to preserve a sample. There are still some lower strata to excavate in the fireplace, if we can reach them, and then it will be in order to insert into the fireplace a person of less than medium size, so as to measure and to photograph the far oven, the inside of which no one has seen since the eighteenth century. (It will also be desirable to extract the said small person after his work is done.)

Upstairs in the Naples Room the job was first of all to deal with the paper. Restoration, for all who have to do with the artefacts of the past, is a horrendous business. To restore is often to destroy or at least to damage. Your officers and committees were hesitant, your Scholar not least, and in the many anxious conferences Mr. Edward Forbes was the most helpful of all, combining as he does technical knowledge and administrative experience. Mr. William Young and his able assistants from the Museum of Fine Arts had not worked long on their large undertaking when it became clear that the fears were groundless, because the damage had already been done. The entire sky, a large area all round

the room, had been painted, when the paper was put on, a mud-brown color to conceal the fact that dirt had already made most of it a mud-brown color. Large sections of the paper, moreover, were put on in the wrong places. *Any* restoration was bound to be an improvement.

After some fruitless searches, two sets of the same Naples paper were found: one was photographed helpfully by a member (Mr. Alden Foss), and Mr. Young had a day with the other set, which is in the Wallingford mansion in Kennebunk, Maine. By the projection of photographs onto our wall, every detail can be exactly restored. The Naples Room is more than half done at this writing; I wish it were possible, without ruining the time of Mr. Young, for all members to see the process going on; but soon all can see the result.

Select passages of mud have not been preserved for comparison, but I think the verdict will be that an extraordinary improvement has taken place. Even without considering the unpublished and apparently unique Bosphoros paper downstairs, which has only begun to be dealt with, we can say that no one probably ever can do more to enhance the interior beauty of the house than Mrs. Henry D. Tudor, who has made possible the work in these rooms.

The third task of study and conservation was the fireplace and fireplace wall in the Naples room. Again Mr. Cummings supplied the expert knowledge, the skill, and the energy; the Emerson scholar extracted hand-made nails, urged the exploration of everything possible when Mr. Cummings hesitated to remove a board, and took dictation from Mr. Cummings when all was done. Our debt to Mr. Cummings is very great indeed for services freely given.

After some sessions with the most expensive carpenters it has been my lot to try to manage, panels were hung on piano hinges, and in due course the Society can examine this work also. Here again, mercifully, the decisions anxiously taken seem all to have been the right decisions. The whole wall will open to reveal one side of the room as it was in 1700; to reveal also — the most startling discovery — high up under the ceiling, a charred beam where an eighteenth century fire was put out just in time to prevent its burning the house down. A few more inches of burning into inaccessible timbers, and the fire would have been out of control.

All the rest that ought to go into this report must wait for another

year, including the two jewels of the whole business (jewels from my professional epigraphical point of view), two semi-legible chalked inscriptions. If some measure of my own gratitude has any place here, let the imagination contemplate what it is like for a Greek archaeologist, dealing as he must with records of a period almost hopelessly remote, and buildings usually preserved only to topsoil level, to live with archaeology over his head.

Respectfully submitted,

STERLING DOW

*Hudson Professor of Archaeology,
Harvard University*

William and Frances White Emerson Scholar

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1957, 1958

Caroline Elizabeth Ayer (Mrs. R. W.) Albright

Raymond Wolf Albright

Margaret Wilder (Mrs. P. F.) Alles

Paul Frost Alles

Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. C.) Almy

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John Franklin Crocker

**Martha Crocker*

Katherine Foster Crothers

** Died*

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(L) Life member

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 William Lincoln Payson
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 Martha Fraser (Mrs. G. I.) Robrbough
 Alfred Sherwood Romer
 Ruth Hibbard (Mrs. A. S.) Romer
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 Roorbach
 Gertrude Swan (Mrs. J. C.) Runkle
 Paul Joseph Sachs
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 Marjorie Llewellyn (Mrs. C. R.) Sage
 Agnes Goldman (Mrs. A.) Sanborn
 Cyrus Ashron Rollins Sanborn
 Edward Joseph Samp, Jr.
 *Henry Hallam Saunderson
 Laura Dudley (Mrs. H. H.) Saunderson
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 Esther Sidelinger (Mrs. E. H.) Schell
 (L) Edgar Vigers Seeler, Jr.
 (L) Katherine PerLee (Mrs. E. V.) Seeler
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 Philip Price Sharples
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 Edna Stevenson Smith
 (L) Margaret Beal Earhart (Mrs. C. A.)
 Smith
 William Stevenson Smith
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 Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr.
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Henry Joshua Winslow

Henry Wise

Pearl (Mrs. H.) Wise

***Mary Andrews (Mrs. R. L.) Wolff*

***Robert Lee Wolff*

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(A) John Russell Wood

John William Wood

Charles Conrad Wright

**Charles Henry Conrad Wright*

Elizabeth Hilgendorff (Mrs. C. C.) Wright

Elizabeth Woodman (Mrs. C. H. C.)

Wright

BY-LAWS

As adopted 17 June 1905, with amendments to 28 April 1959

I. CORPORATE NAME

The name of this corporation shall be "The Cambridge Historical Society."

II. OBJECT

The Corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving books, manuscripts, autographs, photographs, furniture, furnishings and other objects of historical interest, together with the right to provide a place or places for the preservation and exhibition of the same; of preserving for posterity and exhibiting buildings and places of historical or antiquarian interest; of procuring the publication and distribution of manuscripts and papers of historical or antiquarian interest, and generally of promoting interest in research in relation to the history of Cambridge, in buildings of historical or antiquarian interest situate therein and in objects of antiquarian, historical, literary or artistic interest.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

Any resident of, or person having a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, or any town or city within twenty-five miles of the city limits of said Cambridge, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon payment of the current fees.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred and twenty-five.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Any person nominated by the Council may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

An indefinite number of associate members may be elected provided that such candidates are not eligible for regular membership as defined in Article III of these By-laws. Nominations for associate membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL

The seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII. OFFICERS

The officers of this Corporation shall be a Council of fourteen members, having the powers of Directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, an Editor, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in order of their rank.

X. DUTY OF SECRETARY

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the

Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. DUTY OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities of the Society and shall keep its accounts in proper books; shall receive and pay all moneys and collect all debts; shall have power to sign and endorse checks in the name of the Corporation and to receipt for all moneys due the Corporation; and shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Finance Committee. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties; but he may be excused from giving such bond, by majority vote of the Council. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. DUTY OF EDITOR

The Editor shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the preparation for the press of the Society's proceedings and of their printing, publication, and distribution, as well as of the printing and distribution of other pamphlets and books issued by the Society for general circulation.

XIII. DUTY OF CURATOR

The Curator shall have charge under the direction of the Council of all books, manuscripts, and other memorials of the Society, except those lodged at the headquarters building of the Society and except the records and books kept by the Secretary and the Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. DUTY OF COUNCIL

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for the meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XV. MEETINGS

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in January in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of April and October of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XVI. QUORUM

At meetings of the Society ten members and at meetings of the Council four members shall constitute a quorum. Members of the Society may vote either in person or by proxy in writing filed with the Secretary. No proxy which is dated more than six months before the meeting named therein shall be accepted, and no such proxy shall be valid after the final adjournment of the meeting.

XVII. STANDING COMMITTEES

At each Annual Meeting the President shall appoint the following Standing Committees:

1. A Finance Committee, which shall consist of the President, the Treasurer, and one member of the Society at large, the latter to be preferably a member regularly engaged in the investment business. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, supervise and direct the investment of the funds of the Society; shall review the annual budget of the Society and the budgets of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings and the House Committee; and shall see that the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers are properly audited and that securities are examined and accounted for each year.
2. A Committee on Grounds and Buildings, which shall consist of five members, chosen from the Council and from the Society at large. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, have charge of the buildings and grounds at 159 Brattle Street, Cambridge, and any other buildings and grounds that may hereafter become the property of the Society.
3. A House Committee, which shall consist of five members, chosen from the Council and the Society at large and including the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, have charge of the interior decoration of the house at 159 Brattle Street, Cambridge, and of any other houses that may hereafter become the property of the Society; shall work with the Emerson Scholar and any other custodians of the Society's buildings in order to accomplish suitably the purposes of the Society in the ownership of such buildings; and shall submit to the Finance Committee an annual budget.

The President shall be ex-officio a member of all Standing Committees and shall fill all vacancies that may occur between Annual Meetings of the Society.

XVIII. THE WILLIAM AND FRANCES WHITE EMERSON SCHOLAR

In grateful recognition of the long interest of Frances White Emerson and William Emerson and of their munificent bequests to the Society, the Council

shall annually appoint a member of the Society to be known as the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar. The Emerson Scholar shall occupy the house at 159 Brattle Street, Cambridge, free of charge and under conditions outlined in Articles of Agreement satisfactory to the Council. He shall also have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the headquarters building of the Society and of all books, manuscripts, memorials, furniture, and furnishings of the Society lodged therein. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIX. DUES

The amount of the annual dues for regular and associate members shall, except as to those heretofore exempted from the payment thereof, be fixed from time to time by a majority vote of the Council.

XX. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual dues within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XXI. DISSOLUTION

If at any time the active membership falls below ten, this Society may be dissolved at the written request of three members, according to the laws and statutes of this Commonwealth.

XXII. DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY UPON DISSOLUTION

Upon dissolution of the Society, the books, manuscripts, collections, the invested and other funds of the Society, and such other property as it may have, shall be transferred to such institution or institutions doing similar work as may seem best to the members of the Society.

XXIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS

These By-laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.



CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PUBLICATIONS, VOLUME 38

Proceedings for the Years 1959-60



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1961



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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS FOR THE YEARS 1959-60

LIST OF OFFICERS FOR THESE TWO YEARS

1959

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Honorary Vice-President	Miss Lois Lilley Howe
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	Mr. Richard C. Evarts
Secretary	Mrs. Clifford M. Holland
Treasurer	Mr. Oakes I. Ames
Curator	Mrs. Henry H. Saunderson
Editor	Mr. John R. Walden

1960

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Vice-Presidents	Mr. Richard C. Evarts
	Mrs. R. Ammi Cutter
	Mr. James Barr Ames
Secretary	Mrs. Clifford M. Holland
Treasurer	Mr. Oakes I. Ames
Honorary Curator	Mrs. Henry H. Saunderson
Curator	Mrs. George W. Howe
Editor	Mr. John R. Walden

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

The foregoing and the following:

1959

Mrs. Alden S. Foss
Mrs. J. Douglas Bush
Mr. George I. Rohrbough
Miss Mabel H. Colgate
Mr. Robert H. Haynes
Mr. Ashton Sanborn

1960

Mrs. J. Douglas Bush
Miss Mabel H. Colgate
Mr. Ashton Sanborn
Mrs. Richard B. Hobart
Mr. Richard W. Hall
Mr. Robert G. Henderson

THE COST OF A HARVARD EDUCATION IN THE PURITAN PERIOD

By MARGERY S. FOSTER

Read April 28, 1959

THIS audience needs no introduction to the early Harvard, its founding in 1636 by the General Court, its establishment under Henry Dunster, its progress under Charles Chauncy, Increase Mather, and Thomas Brattle and John Leverett. The Harvard College which was then producing between ten and twenty graduates a year has changed considerably since those fine old Puritans strode around Harvard Yard, but some of the considerations of the earlier times have their exact counterparts in ours: people were then, are now, and I hope always will be concerned with what it costs a boy to obtain a Harvard education.

Now we have a fairly simple system of charges, but in the seventeenth century the Steward, who collected all the dues from the students, had a long list of items on his quarter-bill.¹

But first let me say that we know much about the way these matters were handled in the Puritan period because the Harvard University Archives has the actual books, or major parts of them, which were kept by the Stewards from 1650 to 1660 and from 1687 to 1712 and beyond. (My analysis goes only to 1712.) Mr. Morison edited, and the Colonial Society of Massachusetts published, parts of Steward Chesholme's 1650 to 1660 accounts. The Bordman family's accounts as Stewards from 1687 on to 1750 have never been published or even thoroughly studied. They have been a fertile source for my work on the economic history of Harvard. In the bulk of the cases the old writing, after one gets used to it, is very legible, but there is a considerable problem in figuring out what the accounts really mean. Besides the Steward's accounts, other college records and contemporary documents, of course, provide many references to student costs.²

¹ No one but the steward was allowed to "intermedle" — wonderful word — with collections from students.

² References for the statements in this paper are, unless I state to the contrary, the Quarter-Bill Book of Steward Thomas Chesholme (published as Vol. XXXI of the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*), the Quarter-Bill Books of Aaron and Andrew Bordman

The table on page 9 gives an outline of the various costs involved in acquiring an education at Harvard in the Puritan period. Some fees were regularly assessed each quarter; other charges varied more with the individual and the quarter—for example, consumption of food. Some annual or one-time charges are shown broken down into quarters. We shall discuss in detail the material summarized in the table.

REGULAR QUARTERLY CHARGES

TUITION. The most obvious regular item, though not by any means the largest, is tuition. Tuition in 1650 was 6s. 8d. a quarter (£1 6s. 8d. a year). Then in 1652 the Massachusetts Mint was authorized to turn out pinetree shillings with silver content below that of the current English shilling, and there appears to have been an inflation in prices which just about offset the debasement of the coinage. The subject of exactly what happened to prices at that time needs much more study, but we know that when in the period from June to December, 1653, the Harvard tuition was raised to 8s. a quarter, the rise was almost the same percentage as coin had gone down in silver content.³

In 1686 the President of the Province of New England and his Council, who were temporarily in charge of the college, raised the tuition rate from 8s. to 10s. a quarter. This continued to be the rate through at least 1715. There were thus two periods of thirty years each without a tuition change.

What does tuition of 6s. 8d. or 8s. or 10s. mean in 1959 terms? It is almost impossible to say. Economic statisticians today construct a cost-of-living index which tells how our prices vary from one year to the

(unpublished), and College Books I, III, and IV of the College Records (Vols. XV and XVI of the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*). All the originals are in the Harvard University Archives. There are detailed references to these and other relevant documents in Chapter V of my unpublished thesis (1958) on file in the Harvard University Archives and the Radcliffe Archives. Needless to say, though in all cases I have drawn on the original materials, Samuel Eliot Morison's work on Harvard College in this period has been of tremendous assistance to me—especially *The Founding of Harvard College* (Harvard University Press, 1935) and *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1936).

³ To 1654 tuition payments had been an important part of the President's small salary, but in 1655 they were turned over to the Tutors, who continued to receive all tuition throughout the rest of our period. We hope the tuition increase in 1653 did something more than just keep up with the price change.

COSTS OF AN UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION AT HARVARD IN THE PURITAN PERIOD

	Approximate Quarterly Fees and Charges *			Average Annual Payment per Student Enrolled *
	1650-1652 *	1655-1659 (probably 1655-1686)	1687-1712	
<i>Regular fees each quarter</i>				
Tuition	6s. 8d.	8s.	10s.	£ 1 14s.
Detriments — if non-resident	5s.	5s.	5s.	6s.
Study rent — all residents	(£ 2 3s. cost) ^b plus 1s. 5d.	av. 4½s.	flat 5s.	16s.
Cellar rent	1s.	—	9d. to 18d.	1s.
Sweeper — all residents		1½s.	2 to 2½s.	6s.
<i>Charges per quarter (vary with individual)</i>				
Commons & Sizings — all students ^c	£ 2	£ 2 10s.	£ 2 15s.	£ 6 5s.
Punishments — all students	2d. to 5s.	2d. to 5s.	2d. to 5s.	2s.
Glass-mending — all residents	1s.	1s.	0 to 7s.	2s.
Monitor	?	?	4d. to 7d.	2s.
<i>Charges other than quarterly-per quarter ^d</i>				
Wood & candles — all students	6d.	6d.	3d.	5d.
Gallery money — freshmen	(15s. cost) ^b plus 3d.	2½d.	2½d. ^e	1s.
Commencement fee — A.B.'s at £3 ^f	5s.	3s.	3s. to 9d.	15s.
<i>Quarterly Total ^d — Residents</i>	£ 2 16s. 10d.	£ 3 10s. 9d.	£ 4 10d.	
<i>Annual Total ^d — Residents (quarterly x 4)</i>	£ 11 7s.	£ 14 3s.	£ 16 3s.	£ 10 4s.
<i>A.B. Total — Residents (annual x 3 or 4)</i>	£ 34 ^a	£ 57	£ 65	£ 40 16s.

^a Three-year course.

^b Money in parentheses was returned on graduation.

^c Price of parts was 1½d. (bevers ½d., & 2¼d. to 3d., respectively.

^d "Fees and charges" are the amount the college charged a student who was fully active (or, in case of detriments, entirely absent) during a quarter. "Average Annual Payment," in the last column, is the average of actual payments of all registered students; it is a smaller amount than four times the fees because not all students were fully active all quarters. *Source:* Quarter-Bill Books, Harvard University Archives.

^e Irregularly imposed fees are split into quarters or years.

^f Raised to 4½d. in 1708.

^g In addition there were tips of from 5s. to 15s.

next. The basic concept of such an index is the "market basket": the statistician picks a representative basket of goods, including, in 1959, an automobile, some food, clothing, a washing machine, and so on. He then determines how the prices of this market basket change from year to year. This is a satisfactory device over short periods, when there is some consistency in the content of the basket. But how do we compare the twentieth-century with the seventeenth-century market basket of the Harvard parent? Our ancestor needed, among other things, clothing (most of which he grew, and his family spun and sewed), food (almost entirely grown in the back yard or on the farm), a horse, and a good musket for hunting and protection. Obviously we are in trouble. For our purposes here it will have to suffice to mention the relative prices of a few representative goods.

To help with this problem I have invented a device which I now call "Historic Multiplier." It avoids evaluating currencies or quoting price changes. For example, 100 bushels of wheat in the seventeenth century bought $\frac{5}{12}$ of a small house; in 1959 that much wheat is worth $\frac{1}{36}$ of a small house. Thus 100 bushels of wheat bought fifteen times as much house then as now. Similarly, 100 bushels of wheat then bought five times as much food at college, fifty times as much college tuition, as now. In other words, the purchasing power of wheat as money (and it was often used as money) was then fifteen times what it is now in housing, five times in food, and fifty times in tuition. So we see that the relative value of food was in those days high, housing was next, tuition was least. For our purposes we are interested to notice also that the cost of food to some students was about five times the amount they then paid for tuition. Moreover, for the price of a year's tuition they might have bought only eight pairs of shoes (they practically never had more than one pair at a time), eight bushels of wheat, or four books. Tuition was cheap; food, books, shoes were expensive in the seventeenth century compared with the twentieth century.⁴

Before leaving the subject of tuition, we should say that some of the more wealthy students enrolled as "fellow-commoners." We know of thirteen of these before 1715. Each fellow-commoner was expected to present the college with a piece of silver plate and probably to pay double tuition.

⁴ Thesis, p. 136 *et seq.*

Another variation on the standard tuition charge occurred when a student "discontinued," that is lived away from the college and did not attend classes but wished to maintain his place in his class. In this case he was charged "half-tuition."

The kind of teaching the student had for his tuition money is not the subject of this paper. We know it was a rigorous education. For details of the curriculum you may refer to Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Founding of Harvard College* and *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*. Here we must stick to costs and include descriptions only when it is necessary in order to understand what our figures are costs of.

COMMONS AND SIZINGS. By now it is apparent approximately what a student paid for food — perhaps five times his tuition. Food was the largest charge to which students were subjected.

The steward's department provided dinner and supper, when food was called "commons," and, in the morning and at tea time, two other meals called "bevers," when "sizings" were served (mainly bread and beer, and later cider). The standard charge for the beer and bread for sizings was in 1650 to 1660 about a halfpenny each serving; the "price of parts," that is, the cost of one meal for one person, was in Dunster's time apparently a penny and a half. The price of parts was raised in 1654 to twopence farthing ($2\frac{1}{4}d.$). This was the usual rate until the 1690's, when the rate went up as high as $3d.$ a part, then returned to $2d.$ $1f.$ in 1699, only to start up again in 1707 as a bad inflation got under way.

Thus the student paid according to what he ate. The Butler (a student) kept track of those present at each meal, and totaled his accounts periodically. The Butler reported to the Steward, who in turn made up each student's quarter-bill, and from this the whole college's quarter-bill. These Steward's accounts were audited by the Fellows when they got around to it — usually, but not always, once a quarter. One can see the signatures of Fellows John Whiting, John Leverett, and William Brattle on some of the accounts. (I use "Fellows" and "Tutors" interchangeably here. These were the professors, of whom there were two or three at any one time during the years we are discussing.)

The average individual's quarter-bill for commons and sizings and food "extras" for 1650 to 1660 shows as the first charge in the second section of the table. It was in the neighborhood of £2 to £2½, making the annual charge for a student in residence around £10 a year. Some

students managed on less than £2 a quarter, and a few had appetite and means to dispose of over £4 worth of the steward's wares each quarter.

In 1687 the student's quarter-bill for commons and sizings was just about the same size it had been in the late 1650's; up to 1694 the bills seldom went above £3, or £4 thereafter. A few resident students had board bills of less than £1 a quarter, a fourth of what their richer friends ate. When the price of parts went up, the annual tariff reached, by 1715, the neighborhood of £15 or £16 a student. Thus the charge for food might have been between £8 and £16 a year at any time from the beginning until after the end of our period.

A graph of the Steward's receipts from commons and sizings each *quarter* from 1687 on shows that the pattern is irregular, but there was a definite tendency for the scholars to take a vacation the first quarter (at this time July, August, and part of September). No doubt the young men were needed at home. There was for a short time an inclination to take a winter vacation also, during the third quarter. Therefore when we quote the amount of the college quarterly charge it does not show us what the average student actually paid. To get the actual average payment for a year we must include the quarters when the student was not there. That annual figure is the one in the last column of the table and usually is less than four times the quarterly figure. The average annual cost of food consumed in 1687 to 1712 was £6 5s., not £11 (£2 15s. times four 4).

DETRIMENTS. When the student chose not to be in residence at college for all or part of a quarter, in addition to the half-tuition he paid if he was not attending classes, he was subject to a charge at the rate of five shillings per quarter, called "detriments." The charge of detriments was made not only that the student should share in expenses which went on whether or not he was present, but in order that students should be deterred from boarding out around town. This problem was especially severe in the late fifties and sixties, and many detriments were paid in the eighties; but by the new century most students were in residence again. Only five paid detriments in June, 1717.

The candidates for the A.M. degree were frequently away for the whole three years of their candidacy, and the detriments for that period, at 5s. a quarter, totaled £3. (The A.B. degree took three years to 1651, four thereafter. Bachelors who were seriously inclined to go into the

ministry usually took the A.M. three years later, though they seldom stayed in residence all that time.) After 1693 the Corporation relented and gave absent Master's candidates a bargain rate at £1 to cover the three years' detriments.

FINES. Most of us have for years heard tales of the fines imposed upon Harvard students in the early days. There was a miscellaneous assortment of possible monetary fines or punishments which added noticeably to the college's income and to the student's expense. Financial punishment, somewhat as today, was the first and mildest disciplinary means; more severe misdemeanors were taken care of by admonitions — private, then public — by sentence of sitting alone in commons uncovered, by lowering the rank in the permanent class order of academic seniority, and finally by suspension or expulsion from college. The General Court very clearly gave these powers to the Corporation.⁵

The tremendous fine of twenty shillings for having plum cake in their rooms is often cited. Three pence was charged "if any Schollar or Schollars at any time take away or detain any vessel of the Colledges great or smal from the Hal out of the doores from the sight of the Buttery hatch without the Butler's or Servitor's knowledge . . ." Students were forbidden to go unaccompanied into the butteries or kitchen, "And if any shall praesume to thrust in they shall have threepence on their heads, But if praesumptuously and continually they shall so dare to offend, they shall bee lyable to an admonition and to other proceedings of the Colledge Discipline at the Discretion of the Praesident."⁶

Apparently there was occasional neglect of studies, for the College Orders of 1660 proclaim:

Whereas uncomfortable experience hath shewed that notwithstanding former Laws and provisions for Colledge Exercises (viz Common places, Disputes and Declamations) [they] have been too much neglected or slightly performed even by senior Schollars who should be exemplary to others. It is therefore ordered, that the President shall have full powr to impose a fine in a way of penalty upon any negligent person according to his discretion, provided it exceed not five shillings for one Offence.⁷

Compared with these serious offenses — punishable by fines, respec-

⁵ *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications* (hereafter referred to as *CSM*), XXXI, 338, 340.

⁶ *CSM* XV, 33-34, College Orders of 1650.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

tively, of 20s., 3d., "not over 5s." — punishment for absence from prayers (on which part of the Puritan reputation is based) amounted to a fine of a mere one penny.⁸ Whether or not this form of punishment brought about an improvement in the behavior of the young gentlemen scholars appears doubtful from the recurrence of fines on their quarter-bills after quarter. At the least, however, it made a very pleasant addition to the college's income.

STUDY AND CELLAR RENT. When the first Harvard College was built it was left unfinished until Mr. Dunster took over the running of the college. His mention of putting the building into use was to charge each of the first students the cost of finishing his own study. The accounts of this work take up several pages of the earliest book of college records. There we see, for example, that Mr. Richard Harris, Governor Winthrop's brother-in-law, had a room "sield with Cedar round about." He paid £1 11s. for half the costs of the chimney, 6s. 8d. for glass and casements, £1 15s. for "Boarding round about with all appurtenances of workmanship, nailes, etc." The total charge was £5 19s. 11d.; his was the most expensive of all the studies, which more often cost only two or three pounds.⁹ In addition to this purchase price, there was a small quarterly rent charge.

When a scholar graduated he left his study with his successor, who paid the original owner approximately the cost of construction. The second owner recouped his expense when he in turn left college. This system was gradually changed: in the 1650's the college bought out most of the studies and thereafter charged higher rents.¹⁰ The rents in effect in 1651 or 1652 averaged about 1s. 5d. (in addition to the original one-time, refundable cost), but when the college bought the studies they raised rents to an average of around 4s. 6d., with variations depending upon location. Some time in mid-century a uniform rate seems to have been established, for the Quarter-Bill Book shows that all residents paid 5s. a quarter from 1687 to 1720.

Another small expense was first incurred when the newly built Stoughton College in 1700 offered cellars for the storage of the students' wine. The quarterly rental was 1½s.

⁸ CSM XXXI, 335, Laws of 1655.

⁹ CSM XV, 5-13.

¹⁰ CSM XXXI, 332. CSM XV, 14-15, 213-215.

BED-MAKING AND SWEEP. "Bed-making" was an amenity which in 1654 automatically cost a student a shilling each quarter; when the rates went up in 1655 the charge was $1\frac{1}{2}s$. Toward the end of the century, bed-making as a separate charge had disappeared from the accounts, but a "sweep" had turned up there. March, 1678, found the Corporation ordering "Goodman Brown shall have for his service in the Colledge two shillings per quarter from every schollar particularly that holds a study in the Colledge."¹¹ In 1696 this changed to $2\frac{1}{2}s$.

PERSONAL LAUNDRY. Another personal charge, for laundry, was in some cases put through Steward Chesholme's Book as a convenience to the students, in the same way as the Steward paid sundry other of the boys' personal accounts for them.

GLASS-MENDING. A charge which appears quite regularly in Chesholme's Steward's Book, and very frequently in each student's and faculty member's account, is that for paying the college glazier. For some quarters *every* undergraduate had such a charge. Mr. Morison assumes, and Mr. Shipton agrees, that this damage was "one outlet for high spirits."¹² But it seems conceivable, judging from my experience with the fragility of old window-glass, as well as from the great regularity of the entry and the fact that tutors also were so afflicted, that the "glassmending" may have been just a necessary repair. In February, 1693, Brattle has an entry in his journal showing £31 13s. 9d. repaid to the Steward because of "Omission of the article for Glassemending 5 years and 1 Quarter, the Quarters having severally been viewed."¹³ Very frequently the *college*, also, is charged by the Steward for glassmending.

Whatever the cause, the college glazier was a very essential man and mention of payments to him turns up regularly. By 1720 this had become so standard a charge that not only does it show in the previously established column in the quarter-bill, but there is a *regular* charge of 5d. a quarter to *every* student, plus extras to some.

THE MONITOR. Every quarter each undergraduate "whose name was

¹¹ CSM XV, 65.

¹² Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (hereafter referred to as HCSC), p. 121. Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Harvard University Press, 1933), for example, IV, 201, 209, 288, 381, 496, *et passim*.

¹³ Thomas Brattle, manuscript Journal as Treasurer of Harvard College, Harvard University Archives.

in the Buttery" had to pay the College Monitor. This officer was a student "that shall observe them that are fayling cyther by absence from prayers or Sermons, or come tardy to the same . . ." ¹⁴ The Monitor received £3 a year, later £5, which was "set upon the heads" of the students concerned, that is, distributed, usually evenly, among those in the buttery. This cost the students from 3*d.* to 7*d.* quarterly, depending upon the number of students enrolled at the time.

CHARGES REGULARLY LEVIED

WOOD AND CANDLES. It was ordered in 1650 that,

Whereas much inconvenience falleth out by the Schollars bringing Candle in Coarse into the Hall, therefore the Butler henceforth shall receive [20 shillings a year] . . . to provide Candles for the Hall, for prayer time, and Supper, which, that it may not be burthensome, it shall be put proportionably upon every scholar who retayneth his head in the Buttery.¹⁵

These amounts so "put upon their heads" varied over our period from 2*d.* to 7*d.* a year from each student. In addition to these costs of "fyer and candle" for the public rooms, the students were charged with wood for their own fireplaces, if they were so fortunate as to have studies with such a facility.

CAUTION MONEY. A measure for the security of the exchequer was the requirement of an admission bond, an advance deposit called "caution money":

For the removeall of those many distractions and great burthens of Labour Care and Cost that heretofore have pressed the Steward, and the great debts that hitherto sundry have runne into, and unsuitable pay whereby the House hath been disappointed of suitable provision, occasioning offensive Complaints, It is therefore provided

That before the admission of any Scholler, his Parents or Freinds shall both lay down one quarter expences, and also give the Colledge Steward security for the Future, and without this ingagement noe Scholler shall be admitted into the Colledge.

That whosoever is indebted to the Colledge at the end of any Quarter . . .

¹⁴ CSM, XXXI, 335.

¹⁵ CSM XV, 35.

in case that the Bill be not payd within a month hee shall not bee Suffered to runne any further into Debt . . .¹⁶

So spoke the College Laws of 1655. And in 1703 Samuel Sewall recorded in his *Diary*, "Paid Andrew Bordman his cautionary £3 to my son Joseph's being admitted."¹⁷ The practice continued for many years; we hope it relieved the Steward of some of his worst trials.

GALLERY MONEY. A combination of the two devices of putting charges "on the heads" and asking the students to make the initial investment was in 1650 used to defray the college's part of the cost of the second meeting house of the First Church of Cambridge. From that time on the east gallery of the meeting house was the property of the college. The arrangement was that when he entered or very shortly thereafter each student "lente [15s.] towards Buildinge the gallery"; then when he graduated the college usually paid 12s. back to him for the "returne of his gallerye" — net cost 3s. In this case, as with studies, in 1655 the college bought out the students' investments. Thereafter each man paid one charge of 3s. 4d on entrance, and received no refund on graduation. In 1708 "gallery money" was raised to 6s., perhaps because in 1706 the college had laid out another £60 toward the third meeting house. This was a profitable arrangement for the college, which must have been paid for the gallery many times over.

COMMENCEMENT MONEY. Though the individual commencement fee of £3 appears to have been constant throughout the Puritan period, with £1 going to the President of the college and £2 to the Steward for the commencement feast, this item on the accounts was the cause of more apparent fluctuation from year to year than anything else. Mr. Morison points out that because of the disaffection caused by Dunster's lengthening the A.B. course from three to four years, during the first four years of Chauncy's incumbency — 1655 to 1658 — thirty of the graduates refused their degrees.¹⁸ (Mr. Chauncy's budget suffered by £90 as a result.) Three pounds was twice the annual tuition charge, and as much as a quarter's board. Therefore, when the number of graduates changed (as, for example, it did between 1690 and 1691) from thirty-one to seven, the shift from £62 to £14 on the total quarter-bill was very noticeable. What-

¹⁶ Laws of 1655, CSM XXXI, 331-332.

¹⁷ 5 *Coll. Massachusetts Historical Society*, VI (Boston, 1878), 81.

¹⁸ HCSC, 70, 300, 328.

ever this variation did to the college's finances, to the student a £3 fee must have seemed a large tariff to pay, plus the 5s. to 15s. for a "present unto the officers" who were concerned with running the commencement dinner. The main thing the fee covered was the dinner itself, for Harvard commencement was one of the two annual holidays for many people in the surrounding country-side. The crowds which came were well treated indeed.

These were all the fees and charges. Now we can add up the total costs.

TOTAL CHARGE PER STUDENT

The total charges per year of education, as the table on page 9 shows near the bottom, were approximately £11 7s. during the years 1650 to 1652, £14 3s. from 1655 to 1659, and £16 3s. from 1687 and 1712, assuming that the young man was a resident of the college for four quarters. As we have said, the man who was in a Harvard class up to and including that of 1651 normally took three years to earn his A.B. degree, whereas the members of 1653 and later took four. The fees, then, for three years as of 1650 to 1652 might have totaled approximately £34; for four years in 1655 to 1659, £57; for four years 1687 to 1712, perhaps £65.

But the assumption that students studied for four full quarters is optimistic; we know there was a tendency to stay out of college for at least the quarter after commencement. Our table, in the column of the "average annual payment per student enrolled," shows that although at the end of this period the total fees per resident undergraduate added up to £16 3s. a year, actual average undergraduate payments came to only £10 4s. a year. The difference comes from non-resident students and students who stayed out for one or more quarters. An easy place to see this is in tuitions, where the usual fee was £2 a year, but receipts averaged only £1 14s.: some students stayed at home and paid half tuition.

Again, the charge for study rent was £1 a year, but an average of only 16s. was paid; apparently over these years about one fifth of the students were non-resident: twenty-five percent were non-resident in 1687 to 1693, none in 1709 to 1712. We have said that the average resident paid £10 a year for commons and sizings, but we find the average person enrolled paid only £6 5s.: many students ate out of commons.

In addition to these charges, students had personal expenses including those for clothing, books, tips, and wood for their own fireplaces — charges which could be very small if the student lacked funds.

But we might consider whether the college actually collected this money.

PAYMENTS IN KIND

In looking at charges we must remember that throughout this period, though in decreasing measure, payment was often made in commodity money, and effective payment may not have been as large as that credited on the books. The college tried to simplify the Steward's problem by such laws as:

That all such payments shall bee discharged to the Steward of the Colledge either in Current Coine of the Country, or Wheat or Malt, or in such provision as shall satisfy the Steward for the time being, and Supply the Necessities of the Colledge.¹⁹

or,

It is ordered that the steward shall not bee enjoined to accept of above one quarter part of flesh meat of any person.²⁰

Of course, when a commencement dinner was about to be arranged, almost anything to eat could be fitted into the menu and credited on the college accounts.

An item not infrequently found is "payd by summeringe and winteringe of 8 sheepe."²¹ A rather more sizable than usual receipt is "a barne" taken in payment of £6 for Samuel Shepard, 1658, a son of the Reverend Thomas Shepard, fortunately a close neighbor of the college.²² One wonders who wore the "yellow and read cotten" worth 5s. 5d., received from one student, along with 9s. of "buttens" and 1s. 2d. of "ribine."²³ What "necessitye" of the college did they meet?

According to Bordman's ledger the college frequently received "hides of leather." Of obvious use, especially at the end of the quarter

¹⁹ Laws of 1655. CSM, XXXI, 332.

²⁰ Ordered 1667. CSM, XXXI, 342.

²¹ Wait Winthrop paid £3 11s. in this way in 1655. CSM, XXXI, 265.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

or the year, are many gallons of ale, and wine — either green or Madeira or just “wine.” In 1706 to 1709 Recompense Wadsworth, brother of the President, paid in a very miscellaneous collection of hardware — six pairs of hooks and “hindges,” four hasps and eight staples, a candlestick and a saw, a “trevit and toasting Iron,” a “pair of dogs,” a “Chafendish,” a dozen skewers — all useful.

SCHOLARSHIPS

One of the earliest gifts to Harvard was the £100 fund given in 1643 for scholarships by Lady Ann Radcliffe Mowlson. Continuously since the income of that fund became available, Harvard has provided scholarships to some students. There have been out-right grants of money applied against the scholar's account with the Steward, and there have been many and miscellaneous types of “work scholarships” — college jobs such as waiter, butler, monitor. We cannot here go into the sources of this scholarship money. We can say only that for practical purposes all the scholarships during the Puritan period came from gifts and endowment income, and not from college operating funds. The donors ranged from the very poor to the relatively rich, from individuals to societies to governments, from New England to Old England. Then, as now, those who can, and even some who really can't, liked to help young people get an education. One of the most appealing gifts which was used in large part for this purpose was the College Corn, the annual bushels and half-bushels of corn collected all around the colony, in many cases from people who could ill spare it but who believed that “learning should not be buried in the graves of our forefathers.”

The tendency in the seventeenth century was definitely, though not exclusively, to subsidize the older students who had proven themselves, and their scholarships were sometimes renewed for one or two years and even carried into their years of graduate study.

It is difficult or impossible for much of the century to make figures such as colleges now publish showing the percentage of students in college who receive scholarships in any one year. A few sample years, however, indicate that from one quarter to one third of the men did have such assistance each year. The average amount “allowed” to undergraduates in the year 1709 to 1710, for example, was £4 9s., which would

have been about £18 over a four-year period — assuming the scholarship was received every year. This, if a man was very economical, might have covered over half his expenses, perhaps more — and this average does not ordinarily include pay he may have received for jobs. Moreover, the students who worked as waiters or butlers spent less money on food, for they could pick up what had been prepared for those who were absent. Thus it was possible for an occasional student to earn his way completely, and in some years as many as half of those who graduated had had help at some time. The situation sounds in many respects like the present.

In summary we can say that, as the table shows, the money cost of an education at Harvard was remarkably steady during the Puritan period.²⁴ Figures for the years before 1653 are not comparable with the others shown because they cover a three-year course instead of four, and also because there was a definite change in the value of money in the mid 1650's. That the four-year total money cost on our rough average basis rose from £57 only to about £65 after fifty to sixty years is surprising, and there is no evidence that there were large fluctuations in the intervening years. Some of the increase, too, was caused by what we might call an improvement in the product, as when it became possible to spend six shillings a year for wine-cellar rent! And this total charge of £57 to £65 was, one cannot say larger than *any* man paid, but at least half again as large as the £41 the average student actually paid, ignoring scholarships.

For the average four-year cost, that is for £41, a man could, in the Puritan period, purchase a small house "38 x 17 and 11 foot stud," clap-boarded, with three chimneys.²⁵ Or one could hire (if he could find him) an ordinary laborer for two years. Thus it took the full pay of a laborer for two years, or half to a third of the annual salary of a college president, to send a boy through four years of college. These are slim bases for comparison, but the figures do not sound extremely different from now.

From the economic view it is significant that tuition then cost so much less than board and room. The fees at a residential college are made up of three very different variables — agricultural goods for food,

²⁴ But we leave this subject at 1712, when a bad inflation was getting under way and really beginning to distort prices.

²⁵ William B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), pp. 213-214.

manufactured goods (such as books), and what economists call “services.” The relative value of these component parts may vary, but it is possible, and it seems very roughly to have been the case, that over even three hundred years the total *real* cost of a Harvard education has stayed nearly constant.

THE HARVARD BRANCH RAILROAD, 1849-1855

BY ROBERT W. LOVETT

Read May 26, 1959

THE Harvard Branch Railroad, which led a rather precarious existence from 1849 to 1855, is the only steam railroad ever to run from the vicinity of Harvard Square to a trunk road into Boston. This is its claim to fame, and this is the reason why, over the past forty years, many persons, both railroad fans and Harvard buffs, have delved into its history. In fact, the story of investigations into the history of the Harvard Branch is almost as interesting as the story of the line itself. A brief account of these researchers will indicate some at least of my sources. We begin with Dr. Freeman L. Lowell, a native of Somerville and a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1894. He maintained a dispensary in Boston's South End and, as a hobby, developed an interest in railroads. About 1918 he prepared a history of the Harvard Branch, which he presented as a paper before the Cambridge Historical Society in 1920. This paper was not published, and on the author's death in Arlington in 1924, it presumably passed to his widow. The manuscript has since disappeared, and efforts by several persons to find it have proved unsuccessful. Dr. Lowell did present to Baker Library, the Harvard Business School, in 1918 a typed copy of the minutes of the directors of the Harvard Branch; this is fortunate, since the whereabouts of the original is not now (1959) known.

One of those who first tried to find the Lowell manuscript was F. B. Rowell, an engineer, who had helped Dr. Lowell prepare his paper. In 1926 T. F. Joyce, assistant to the president of the Boston and Maine, asked Rowell to bring together material on the Harvard Branch. Rowell drew up a brief chronological account, to which he appended copies of source materials, mainly items from the *Cambridge Chronicle*. A copy of these notes is now filed in the portfolio relating to the railroad in the Harvard University Archives. Walter W. Wright, son of the late Professor Charles H. C. Wright, and a former colleague of the writer's on the staff of the Harvard Library, also was interested in the road. Walter has kindly lent me various notes, photostats of annual reports, and other

material relating to the Harvard Branch which he has collected. In 1946 Clifton Harlan Paige drew up a series of chronological notes on the road's history; a copy of these he turned over to Foster M. Palmer, now Assistant Librarian for Reference in the Harvard College Library. Finally, Professor Charles J. Kennedy, of the University of Nebraska, who has written a history of the Boston and Maine Railroad, has let me see his notes on the Harvard Branch. In this brief sketch I have omitted several popular accounts in the *Cambridge Chronicle*, the *Boston Transcript*, the *Enthusiast*, and elsewhere.¹

All the published articles I have seen, drawing from the same sources, emphasize in general the same points. These represent in a sense the scaffolding for a history of the railroad, and I shall also make use of them. But I should like to concentrate on the business aspects of the venture, drawing not only on the annual reports for facts and figures, but also on documents in the Massachusetts Archives and the Boston and Maine Railroad files. Another person might emphasize the technical aspects, or the social, but since the road was first of all a business venture, it is not surprising that this is the side best documented, though even here there are serious gaps.

Most chronologies of the Harvard Branch Railroad begin with the stage lines of the early nineteenth century and proceed to the construction of railroads in the 1830's and 1840's. Cambridge grew rapidly in that period, becoming a city in 1846, with a population of about 13,000. Of the three main sections, East Cambridge and Cambridgeport had out-distanced Old Cambridge, or the area about Harvard Square. This was in part a result of the construction of two bridges, the West Boston Bridge, now the Longfellow Bridge, in 1793 and the Craigie, or Canal, Bridge in 1809. There had been several stage or omnibus lines, but by the 1840's these were largely consolidated under the firm of Stearns and Kimball. The promoters of the Harvard Branch felt that they could improve on the service — and the costs — of these lines; here is what "Old Cambridge," a contemporary observer, had to say about them:

The citizens of Old Cambridge, in the way of communication with the City of Boston, are a quarter of a century "behind the times"; and, comparatively speak-

¹ Article by Thomas F. O'Malley, *Cambridge Chronicle*, August 15, 1930; unsigned account, *Cambridge Chronicle*, Centennial Edition, 1946; also, September 20, 1929; unsigned account, *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 3, 1926; article by Benjamin Thomas, following Rowell's account, *The Enthusiast*, May, 1934.

ing, much further from that Metropolis than towns on Railroad lines at a distance of ten or fifteen miles. — Besides the annual expense of getting to Boston from the Colleges — although only a distance of three and one half miles — is greater than that of conveyance from the towns before mentioned. How stands the case? We have some good omnibuses — generally obliging drivers and often very bad boys. Sometimes, we are left at our doors, sometimes dropped in the mud, and often driven through clouds of dust — and are under most favorable circumstances from 30 to 50 minutes making the passage from University to Boston.²

The letter concludes with the argument that stage tickets cost \$13.00 a quarter, or eight tickets for a dollar; whereas, when the Harvard Branch is completed, tickets are likely to be \$5.00 a quarter, or sixteen for a dollar. (As it happened, when the road opened, tickets were \$6.00 a quarter, and six could be obtained for fifty cents.)

By 1849, when this was written, railroads were a well-established alternate means of transportation; in fact, the railroad fever was so great it seemed a matter of life and death to even the smallest town to be part of the system. If not on a main line, a town could at least be on a branch, and local promoters were ready to build such a branch in the expectation that the main road might eventually take it over. Boston, as the hub city, was served by several lines, and the Boston terminal of the Fitchburg Rail-

² *Cambridge Chronicle*, February 1, 1849; the letter is dated January 30, 1840, obviously a misprint. The remainder of the letter is worth quoting:

"The cost of yearly conveyance over the road once each way per diem is \$52.00 or \$3.00 per quarter, eight tickets for one dollar, or 15 cents for a single passage. Now the citizens of Watertown, Newton, Waltham, Lexington, Dedham, Lynn and many other places that might be named can reach Boston quicker and at half this expense per annum. The Branch railroad when completed will produce an entire change in this matter.

Are the people of Old Cambridge aware that the yearly price of riding on the Fitchburg road, from the Somerville Depot, which is but little more than a mile from the College buildings, is only \$14.00 — or \$4.00 for three months? and that the payment of this sum entitles the person to pass over the road, *daily either way as many times as the cars run* — say six or eight times in the morning and as many in the afternoon? Sixteen tickets can also be procured for *one dollar*. When the Cambridge Branch is completed, the walk, which, by the way, we have found very pleasant, even in the winter, will be unnecessary, and the expense of travelling from the University to Boston will not be more than \$16.00 per year, or \$5.00 per quarter, or 16 tickets for \$1.00.

Under these circumstances, we trust that the citizens of Old Cambridge will 'wake up!' and hasten the consummation of a work so devoutly to be wished. We trust that when the 'time of the singing of the birds has come', ground will be broken, and that the sound of the hammer and the clang of laying down rails will ring among the classic groves and halls of Old Harvard, and that before the blossoms of Spring ripened into fruits the citizens of Old Cambridge will be enabled to enjoy some of the fruits and benefits of the modern improvements in transportations."

road (at Causeway Street, where the present Boston and Maine Railroad Industrial Building now is) had been opened the year before. The Fitchburg Railroad also had stations at Prospect Street and near the Bleachery, both in Somerville, and at what is now Porter Square, North Cambridge. It was thus the main line into Boston nearest to Harvard Square, only about three-quarters of a mile distant. Thus the need and the opportunity were present, and by early in the year 1848 certain persons in Cambridge decided to act.

We first learn of plans for the Harvard Branch through a petition for incorporation presented to the House of Representatives on January 13, 1848, signed by William L. Whitney and 173 other Cambridge residents. The two signers after Whitney, of whom we shall also hear more, were Samuel Batchelder and Oliver Hastings; and another, who was to be active in the affairs of the railroad, was Estes Howe. The petition also bore such familiar Harvard names as C. C. Felton, Benjamin Peirce, William Ware, Henry Ware, and, last of all, Jared Sparks. The line of the proposed railroad is described as follows: "commencing on Fitchburg Railroad not far from the station near the Bleachery in Somerville,³ thence by a curve crossing Hampshire street in Cambridge or Somerville [the last two words were inserted later] and running in a southwesterly direction to some convenient point at or near the Common in old Cambridge." The petition was referred to the Committee on Railways and Canals, and it was also directed that copies be served on Lucius R. Paige, Clerk of Cambridge, James Walker, representing Harvard, John P. Welch, the Fitchburg Railroad, and Charles E. Gilman, Clerk of Somerville. In March, 32 citizens of Somerville presented a further petition, stating that the line "will greatly benefit the inhabitants of Somerville as well as of Cambridge and promote the public convenience."⁴

With the earlier petition was a detailed estimate of the cost of building the line, of running it, and of income, prepared by Samuel M. Felton, engineer and superintendent of the Fitchburg Railroad. We shall compare some of these figures with the actual ones later, but it is of interest now that the total estimate for construction was \$30,976.87, while the

³ The Bleachery was variously known as the Charlestown Bleachery, the Milk Row Bleachery, the Somerville Bleachery, Inc., etc. The station was known as the Park Street station or simply the Somerville station.

⁴ Mass. Laws 1848, chap. 107. The petitions and other material filed at this time are to be found in the State Archives in a docket file under the above number.

actual cost was \$25,485.51. Felton, figuring that the road would run its own equipment (actually, it paid the Fitchburg an amount per mile for use of theirs), estimated a daily running cost of \$38.30,⁵ or a yearly cost (based on 313 days) of almost \$12,000, plus \$1,000 interest on heavy equipment. He estimated income, based on 450 passengers per day at 12½ cents each, at \$17,606.25, leaving some \$4,500 for interest on outlay and compensation for use of the Fitchburg Railroad to Somerville. These figures evidently convinced the legislature that the scheme was a practical one. As it turned out, the number of trains run per day came to about half of the fifteen each way he expected, the expenses were about half of his estimate, but the income was only a little over a third of his figure.

The resulting act passed the legislature and was approved on April 17, 1848. It provided, first, that "William L. Whitney, Samuel Batchelder, Oliver Hastings, their associates and successors, are hereby made a Corporation by the name of the Harvard Branch Railroad Corporation. . . ." Second, it authorized the corporation to "locate construct and maintain a railroad with one or more tracks from some convenient point on the Fitchburg Railroad near the Bleachery in Somerville, to some convenient point near the Common, in Cambridge: provided, that said railroad shall pass between the house of John G. Palfrey & Divinity Hall." In the third section, the capital stock was limited to four hundred shares at \$100 a share, for a total of \$40,000. Section four was a customary requirement that the plan of location be filed within a year and construction be completed within two years. As we shall see, this time was later extended. The final section provided that the franchise might be disposed of to the Fitchburg Railroad, which could then increase its capital stock by \$40,000. It now remained for the persons interested to find ways and means of carrying out the terms of the act.

The *Cambridge Chronicle* for June 15, 1848, reported that the first meeting of the petitioners for a charter for the road was held on the preceding Thursday, or June 8. William L. Whitney was chosen chair-

⁵ Felton estimated a distance to Boston of 3½ miles; for he figured that trains running fifteen times each way per day would total 105 miles. His daily expenses were: fuel and waste, 15 cents per mile, \$15.75; repairs of engines (2), 6 cents per mile, \$6.30; repairs of passenger cars (3), 5 cents per mile, \$5.25; repairs to road, \$1.25; engine man, \$2.00; fireman, \$1.25; conductor and brakeman, \$3.25; depot man and switchman, \$3.25, making a total cost of \$38.30 per day.

man and Adam S. Cottrell, secretary. An investigating committee was appointed, to report the following week; their report has not survived. Little seems to have been accomplished; for "Old Cambridge," writing on January 30, 1849, in the letter previously mentioned, asks: "And why should not the work be immediately commenced and completed?" It is likely that the promoters hoped that the Fitchburg Railroad would take over the franchise and construct the road. "Old Cambridge" subscribed to this view, for in a subsequent letter he asks: "Will it pay? Who will build it?" Going on to answer his own questions, he states: "We should, however, prefer that it should be built by the Fitchburg Company, who have experience in these matters; and we have no doubt that under the able and gentlemanly management of Mr. Felton, the superintendent of that road, the Harvard Branch would prove to be as productive in proportion to its cost, as any piece of road belonging to the corporation."⁶ He is of the opinion, however, that, if the Fitchburg will not do the job, the petitioners can and will, and that it should be undertaken without delay.

Further support for action by the petitioners came from a meeting of citizens of the First Ward (Old Cambridge) on February 7. The following resolution was adopted: "Resolved: — That an Agent be appointed to prepare plans and file location of said road immediately, agreeable to the charter already granted, and that Messrs. William L. Whitney, Adam S. Cottrell, Stephen Smith and Dr. Estes Howe be appointed a committee, to take such measures as they may deem proper for the completion of said road."⁷ However, the year 1849 was not a prosperous one, and it is likely that the distribution of stock was not going well. Thus, in an act approved April 24, 1849, the legislature granted a three month's extension on both the filing of the location and the construction of the railroad, remarking that it was "owing to the financial pressure and other causes."⁸ The petitioners then moved more rapidly, calling a meeting of the subscribers to the capital stock for June 28, at Lyceum Hall. By-laws were adopted, and seven directors chosen. We do not know the names of all the stockholders, but may assume that those who became directors were among them. The by-laws, in customary

⁶ *Cambridge Chronicle*, February 22, 1849.

⁷ *Cambridge Chronicle*, February 15, 1849.

⁸ Mass. Laws 1849, chap. 136.

fashion, covered such matters as the annual meeting (to be the last Thursday in June), provision for proxies, semi-annual reports, the duties of the directors, the form for the stock certificates, the seal, and the duties of the treasurer and clerk. The following seven persons were chosen directors (a total of 99 votes were possible, 50 were necessary for election):

Edmund T. Hastings of Medford	99
Estes Howe of Cambridge	99
William L. Whitney of Cambridge	99
Gardiner G. Hubbard of Boston	98
Oliver Hastings of Cambridge	97
James Dana of Charlestown	94
Joseph W. Ward of Cambridge	58

And now it is time to sketch some of the backgrounds of these men, who were to remain active in the management of the road.

One of the most active was Hubbard, who served as president during much of the life of the road. Frederick T. Stevens, in *The Cambridge of 1896*, describes him as engaging, with Estes Howe and others, in many subsequent commercial ventures in Cambridge.⁹ A Boston lawyer, Hubbard seems to have handled a major share of the financing of these concerns; he moved to Cambridge about 1852. Estes Howe was the president's right-hand man, serving as treasurer and clerk. He graduated from Harvard in 1832, married a sister of the first Mrs. James Russell Lowell, and served in the state senate in 1859 and 1871.¹⁰ He trained as a physician, but gave up practice about 1852, to devote himself to his various commercial interests. James Dana, who served as Mayor of Charlestown, was a lawyer and attained the rank of Brigadier General in the state militia. William L. Whitney was connected with Brackett and Company, furniture dealers, Brattle Square, Cambridge. Like Hubbard and Howe, he engaged in other business enterprises (he was treasurer of the Cambridge Savings Bank from 1857 to 1866) and he also entered politics on occasion. It was he who finally purchased the railroad's property. The two Hastings were not closely related. Edmund, whose business was in Boston, moved to Medford in 1840; Oliver was

⁹ Arthur Gilman, Ed., *The Cambridge of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Six*, Cambridge, Riverside Press, 1896, p. 396.

¹⁰ Lois L. Howe, "Dr. Estes Howe: a Citizen of Cambridge," *Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings*, XXV (October, 1939), 122ff.

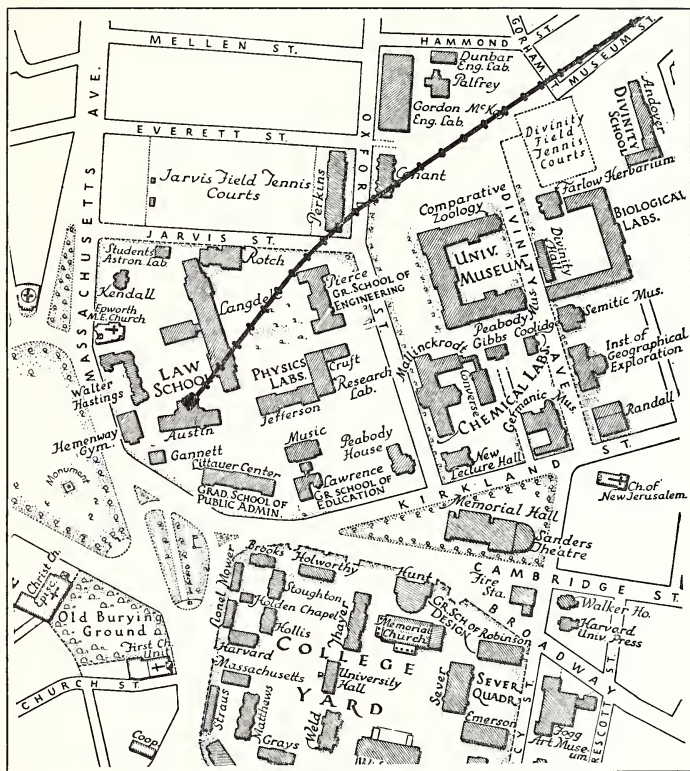
concerned with a lumber wharf in East Cambridge. Joseph W. Ward operated a drug firm with his brothers in Boston, and was also treasurer of the Suffolk Lead Works.

Among some of those connected with the railroad's early planning, but less active than the seven above, were Samuel Batchelder, who was treasurer of the Portsmouth Steam Factory, with his office in Boston, and Adam S. Cottrell, who was concerned in a lumber wharf in Charlestown. Moses M. Rice was a trader, with a shop in Brazier's Block, Cambridge. William A. Saunders was a hardware merchant in Boston, and Stephen Smith had a lumber wharf in Brighton. It is of interest that several of these men — Cottrell, Oliver Hastings, and Smith — were in the lumber business. Representing the professions were Dana and Hubbard, lawyers, and Howe, a physician. The two Hastings were among the oldest members of the group, while Dana, Whitney, and Howe were about of an age. Several of the men had their offices in Boston, but all those who lived in Cambridge (and only Edmund Hastings and Dana did not) were residents of the First Ward. Batchelder and Oliver Hastings appear to have been the most well-to-do, at least on the basis of the Cambridge tax returns of 1851.¹¹

From the minutes of the directors we learn many details concerning the construction of the road in the summer and fall of 1849. First of all, land had to be acquired, and E. T. Hastings, Hubbard, and Howe were appointed a committee on land damages on June 29. It proved possible to file the location plan on July 16, just a day before the deadline.¹² As designated in the legislative act, the road passed between the house of John G. Palfrey and Divinity Hall, taking land from both owners. Some property was acquired from Samuel Rand, of Somerville, and the railroad

¹¹ *Cambridge Directory*, 1851; the tax rate was \$6.30 on a thousand. Of the men mentioned, O. Hastings' tax was \$356.82, Batchelder's \$336.66, Whitney's \$185.22, Howe's \$70.80, Cottrell's \$51.90, Smith's \$51.90, and Saunders' \$46.86.

¹² The Middlesex County Engineer's Office has the plan as filed; it is number 1887. After leaving the Fitchburg Railroad, the line crosses Rand's land, Hampshire Street, land of Norton, Palfrey, Norton, a brook, land of Hall, the Divinity School land, a brook, land of Jarvis, Oxford Street, land of Jarvis, of Mrs. Holmes, and ends on the college land on Holmes Place. The plan was surveyed and drawn by J. B. Henck, S. M. Felton, Engineer. Also on Holmes Place, which left Kirkland, turned at right angles, and entered into North (now Massachusetts) Avenue were homes of Samuel Pomeroy (later, of Mrs. Baker), of Royal Morse, and the Old Cambridge Baptist Church. The Lawrence Scientific School, built in 1847, was nearby. The road appears on the map in the *Cambridge Directory*, 1850; revised by W. A. Mason, 1849; this basic map is found also in the *Directories* for 1851 to 1855. No trace of the road now exists, unless it be reflected in the curve of Museum Street.



HARVARD BRANCH RAILROAD

Imposed on detail of map made in 1940 by Erwin Raisz. By courteous permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

received a reduction in damages claimed by the owner.¹³ Some also belonged to Mrs. Abiel Holmes, mother of Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose home was on the northwest corner of Holmes Place, for the president was authorized to confer with her about it on December 29. Some was acquired from Professor Norton, but the largest amount undoubtedly came from the college, representing the old Gannett property, the site of the station. For the sum due on this, the road preferred to give a note, based on a mortgage of the land, and this was accomplished in May, 1851. Land takings for this 72/100 of a mile amounted to \$10,841.91, quite close to Felton's estimate of \$10,000. Land represented a considerable portion of the debt recorded at the end of the first year of operation; in the Special Report of February, 1851, Harvard College is listed as a creditor for \$3,839.41, and land damages comprise an additional liability of \$1,190.

The next step was to engage an engineer to draw up detailed specifications. On July 2 the directors designated the committee on land damages to select a person for the job. Samuel M. Felton was the logical choice,¹⁴ but he seems to have left much of the work to one Parker, whose early estimate of the cost of the road (\$23,000) was much lower than Felton's. That they worked together is shown by a vote of February 19, 1850, which made Hubbard and Dana a committee "to settle with Messrs. Felton and Parker." Hubbard himself served as superintendent of construction, for which he was granted \$200 in June, 1850. In the annual reports the engineer's accounts come to a total of \$824.31. On January 19, 1850, it was voted to give the engineers fifty dollars "for all extra charges & expenses — including the price of the model of the Station House"; this is probably included in the above figure. This amount was evidently not enough, for a further settlement, recorded in the vote of February 19, mentioned above, was necessary.

John Allen's bid for the construction of the earth work and masonry was accepted on October 15; Allen also took care of the fencing. On the following January 19 he was granted \$100 in stock as compensation for

¹³ One aspect of the case is recorded in Luther S. Cushing, *Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court*, Boston, 1862, Vol. VIII, pp. 218-219.

¹⁴ Felton, son of Cornelius C. Felton, graduated from Harvard in 1834. He was superintendent of the Fitchburg Railroad in 1845, president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore in 1851, and president of the Pennsylvania Steel Company.

his loss on the grading contract. The total cost for grading and masonry came to \$912.27, much less than Felton's estimate of \$2,635. In his preliminary estimate Felton included under this heading such items as 11,000 cubic yards embankment at 16 cents, 150 yards cattle guard at \$2.50, 200 yards culvert at \$2.50. Four signs and crossings at \$100 each were figured separately. Evidently the fill required was much less than he had thought necessary.

By October, attention could be paid to the superstructure and the iron. E. T. Hastings and Joseph W. Ward were appointed a committee to acquire iron, and were later instructed to contract for 400 "chairs" of the Peterboro pattern¹⁵ at sixteen pounds to the chair, and also spikes. General Dana, E. T. Hastings, and the president were made a committee to purchase sleepers and to make contract for the laying of the superstructure. On November 14 the Fitchburg Railroad directors voted to sell not exceeding seventy-five tons of railroad iron to the Harvard Branch, at \$45 a ton.¹⁶ By December 1 the *American Railway Times* was able to report that "the grading of this road is now completed, and the workmen have commenced laying the rails." Total costs for iron and superstructure were \$6,928.15, again considerably less than Felton's estimate of \$8,500.

More time at directors' meetings was devoted to the station and related structures than to any other part of the road. On September 20 the two Hastings and Whitney were appointed a committee to examine station houses in the vicinity. A month later, on October 19, Mr. Parker submitted a plan for a station house, which was adopted. By November 6 he was able to lay plans and a model before the board. Discussion was carried on for the two following days, and on the 8th it was voted "that the design for the station house fronting on the street, with a circular roof and curved side at the angle on the side street be adopted."¹⁷ The vote was so close that the Yeas and Nays were recorded; it passed four to three. On December 14 it was voted "that the depot be painted on the roof of a slate color & the body of a color similar to the house of Stephen Smith

¹⁵ A chair was that part of the iron attached to the sleeper, in which the rail rested.

¹⁶ References to the minutes of the Fitchburg Railroad directors are to the original volumes in the Boston and Maine Railroad offices.

¹⁷ Pictures of the building, after it became the College Commons, show the circular roof, with columns in the front. It apparently stood between properties of Mrs. Baker and Royal Morse, the latter's house on the right being very close.

Esq.” In December directions were given about plastering, in January as to furnishing, and in February as to paving and grading. The directors were resolved that the station, as near the Common as it could be placed without crossing North Avenue, should be an asset to the area. The building seems not to have been completed until June, for the *Cambridge Chronicle* of the 17th states that it is “about finished.”

Meanwhile, it was decided that the depot building could be so constructed as to afford room for the engine. A contract was also let for a turntable, to cost \$1,050. Total station costs were \$4,304.99; Felton's estimate was for \$6,000. By the end of November, 1849, the directors set about selecting a conductor and station master, charging the two Hastings and Whitney with the preliminary screening. On November 27 they reported in favor of William Thayer, of Cambridge, who was forthwith recommended to the superintendent of the Fitchburg Railroad “as the person whom this board desire to have appointed to the office of Conductor.” The committee was not so successful in their recommendation of G. W. Randall to be station master; the board decided to recommend John Stimpson to the superintendent of the Fitchburg instead.

To ensure a supply of money to meet bills, General Dana moved, on November 20, that a second assessment of ten dollars on each share be payable on December first, and that further assessments, up to ten in all, be spaced out from then to the first of April. A first assessment of ten dollars had been made on October 19, payable by November 15. It was also time to consider such matters as fares and schedules. On December 14 the committee on fares (Dana and Howe) recommended that the following rates be adopted: single tickets, twelve and a half cents;¹⁸ packages of six tickets for fifty cents; quarterly tickets, six dollars; no annual tickets to be sold. At the following meeting it was decided to reduce the price of single tickets to ten cents, which would compare favorably with stage coach fares. On December 29, it was voted that the fare from Cambridge to Somerville be five cents. The meeting of December 14 also set up a schedule, providing for six trains a day from Cambridge and the same number from Boston. However, at the following meeting, it was decided that General Dana should settle the question

¹⁸ Felton had recommended this price in his early estimate. The *American Railway Guide* for 1850 and 1851 gives the fare as 15 cents; those for 1852 through 1855 as 10 cents.

of schedule with the superintendent of the Fitchburg Railroad, and the times were changed on several occasions.¹⁹

At length all was in readiness for the opening. In an excess of optimism, the directors on December 14 voted that the road be opened on Monday the twenty-fourth, and that no fares be charged that day. By the nineteenth, they found it necessary to postpone the date to Monday the thirty-first, and to state that there should be no free opening. The *Cambridge Chronicle* followed events with interest, explaining the delay by the fact that "more time is required to make the necessary preparations at the Station in Cambridge, than was expected."²⁰ The newspaper issued on the twenty-seventh carried both a news note of the opening on Monday next and an advertisement for the railroad. The reporter approved of the 10:30 P.M. train from Boston, which, he stated, "will accommodate those who may wish to spend the evening in our sister city." The advertisement, signed by Estes Howe, as treasurer, gave the schedule and the fares, and further stated that: "tickets must be purchased before entering the cars, otherwise 5 cents extra will be invariably charged." We can imagine (even though it is not reported) the pride of the directors and the interest of the students and townspeople when the first train moved off.²¹

Here we may pause for a moment to consider the total costs of construction and some additional details relating to the railroad's right of way. Costs for construction, as shown in the annual reports, were carried forward each year; totals (excluding figures for unliquidated claims) were: 1850 report, \$3,096.57; 1851 report, \$20,213.02; 1852 report, \$24,501.34. In 1850 the Fitchburg Railroad altered its line slightly in Somerville and the subsequent expenses to the Harvard Branch amounted to \$785.51. This brought the total construction cost for the 72/100 miles to \$25,286.85; or, if one follows the figures given in the special report to stockholders, of 1851, to \$25,485.51. Meanwhile, stock assessments amounting to \$6,810 were received in 1849, \$12,630 in 1850, and \$1,140 in 1851, making a total of \$20,580, or only half the amount provided for by the charter.²² Thus, on construction costs alone, there was a deficit of between \$5,000 and \$5,500. The state required data on

¹⁹ The subject of schedules is considered further at the end of this paper.

²⁰ *Cambridge Chronicle*, December 20, 1849.

²¹ There was no extended college vacation at Christmas at that time.

²² An additional amount of \$220 came in after 1851, for the final figure for stock subscriptions stood at \$20,800.

various aspects of the line as constructed, and these, though technical, have a certain interest. The length in feet measured 3,673 (of single track), with sidings measuring 555 feet. The weight of rail per yard was 49 pounds; the maximum grade 37 feet per mile for 600 feet;²³ the shortest radius of curvature, 451 feet for a length of 239 feet; total degrees of curvature, 102°; total length of straight line, 2,240 feet; and number of public ways crossed, two.

Since the Harvard Branch did not operate any equipment itself, our information about this side of the venture is rather sketchy. There was an oral contract with the Fitchburg Railroad, by which the latter operated the trains at a cost of fifty cents per train mile, the Harvard Branch to pay for repairs. Samuels and Kimball, in their history of Somerville, state that the equipment consisted of a single passenger car, in one end of which was the locomotive.²⁴ There was a smokestack, covered with screening, giving rise to the name "pepper-box." It is likely that wood was used for both power and heat, though coal might have been used for the latter. Some fossil cinders were found by a Harvard geology class in the 1920's. The annual reports state that a maximum speed of twenty miles per hour was set for the trains and that a speed of nineteen miles per hour was actually attained. It proved desirable to arrange for a connection with omnibuses running out of the Fitchburg station in Boston, and subsequent printed advertisements referred to the accommodation.

The new road got off to a good start, and hopes were high, at least for the first year. "Wave," writing in the *Cambridge Chronicle* shortly after the opening, states: "It has already become a popular mode of conveyance between Boston & Cambridge and it must have a tendency to increase the price of real estate in Cambridge and also the comfort, and perhaps the happiness of a large number of our citizens."²⁵ The correspondent also rejoiced in the prospects of a new hotel and of the completion of the Grand Junction Railway, and concluded his letter with several verses. A Harvard undergraduate of the time, reminiscing later about his college days, writes: "The establishment of this line of conveyance to Boston was a great convenience to students who had previously to depend upon the infrequent four horse omnibus. They were

²³ This became 601 feet in the 1851 report.

²⁴ Edward A. Samuels and Henry H. Kimball, *Somerville, Past and Present*, Boston, 1897,

p. 93.

²⁵ *Cambridge Chronicle*, January 10, 1850.

often obliged to walk back to Cambridge after theatrical entertainments in town, through storm and darkness."²⁶ However, an expense account of another student shows about equal purchases of railroad tickets (at 10 cents) and omnibus tickets (at 12 ½ cents) during the first few months of 1851.²⁷ After the road had been in operation for some six months, the *Cambridge Chronicle* stated: "We are informed that the business on the road, thus far, exceeds the calculations and expectations of its projectors."²⁸

The figures present a less optimistic picture of the first year's operations. From the second annual report, covering 1850, we learn that there was a floating debt of \$6,500 and unliquidated claims estimated at \$6,000. Miles run by passenger trains totaled 14,888, and passengers totaled 100,909. Charges made by the Fitchburg Railroad for operating the road for the year were \$7,244; repairs, paid for by the Harvard Branch, came to \$32; making a total for cost of operation of \$7,276. Income, wholly from passengers, amounted to \$6,610.21, leaving an operating deficit of \$665.79. A statement accompanying a legislative document breaks down the year's figures for six-months periods as follows: December–June, 7,186 miles at a cost of \$3,593; July–December, 7,302 miles at \$3,651.²⁹

Though not unduly worried, the directors still felt that something should be done about the company's debts. President Hubbard and Ward were appointed a committee on ways and means on November 6, and on January 22, 1851, it was recommended that their report be presented to the stockholders. A committee of stockholders was chosen on February 19 and, with the directors, they prepared a report, later printed, which is of considerable interest. First, they took up the costs of construction and the amount of capital subscribed, arriving at a debt of \$4,700, excluding the cost of the track alteration. When this was added, along with the operating deficit of \$665.72,³⁰ they arrived at a total debt of \$6,151.23. Later in the report they listed their liabilities as follows:

²⁶ James C. White (A.B., 1853), "An Undergraduate's Diary," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, March, 1913, p. 425.

²⁷ Joseph A. Holmes (A.B., 1854), manuscript expense book; in the Harvard University Archives.

²⁸ *Cambridge Chronicle*, June 17, 1850.

²⁹ With docket file, Mass. Laws, 1855, chap. 94, Massachusetts Archives.

³⁰ The figure arrived at from the annual report was \$665.79; there are other discrepancies in figures.

Harvard College	\$3,839.41
Land damages	1,190.00
Sundry accounts	about 1,121.82
	<hr/> 6,151.23

They listed receipts of \$6600.17, a slightly different figure from the one in the annual report; and they reduced the operating deficit, in words anyway, to "about Five Hundred Dollars." Perhaps they may be pardoned for making the situation appear somewhat rosier than it was. They stated frankly that: "We believe there were not many of the original Stockholders who expected the Road would pay its expenses for the first one or two years, and in this they have not been disappointed."

Still, they looked hopefully to the future, for in January and February, 1850, the number of passengers carried was 11,573; for the same months in 1851 it was 12,942, an increase of 1,369. This was not far removed from Felton's original estimate of 450 passengers a day. But the committee complained that the fifty cents a mile charged by the Fitchburg Railroad was too much. In this, they followed the directors, who had been trying for some time to obtain more favorable conditions. In view of the fact that the Fitchburg Railroad's costs in 1849 were \$.6597 per mile, their lack of success is not surprising.³¹ But the stockholders' committee proposed an agreement upon some per cent of profit, over the actual cost, the latter to be decided by three impartial referees. And they suggested that, if the Fitchburg Railroad would not cooperate, and if the legislature would not interfere, "we might then procure a single Car, and run with horses to the Junction, and then have the ratio fixed, by Commissioners, at which we should be carried into the City."

To provide for the immediate debt, which would be equal to 30 per cent on each share, they proposed that the road be mortgaged to three trustees, to secure notes or scrip, to an amount not exceeding \$6,000, payable in three equal instalments. The Scrip was to be payable in one year from March 20, 1851, with interest, payable semi-annually. The recommendations of the committee³² were accepted by the stockholders

³¹ Annual report, Fitchburg Railroad, 1850.

³² The committee members were Hubbard, Dana, Oliver Hastings, Whitney, and Ward, directors; and W. G. Stearns, M. Wyman, and Jonas Wyeth, stockholders. Copies of the printed report are in Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Massachusetts State Library, and the Bureau of Railway Economics.

on March 5 and by the directors on March 8. The latter made provision for the scrip, which was to be limited to a maximum of thirty dollars on each share; and they voted to execute a mortgage of the road to William G. Stearns, Oliver Hastings and Gardiner G. Hubbard.³³ Stearns, who was steward of Harvard College and had been a stockholder member of the committee, declined to serve; his place was taken by James Dana.

We have seen that the directors had already been trying ways of bringing the Fitchburg Railroad to accept their terms, or, failing that, of by-passing that road entirely. On September 24, 1850, Hubbard, Dana, and Howe were made a committee "to make arrangements with the Fitchburg Road in relation to additional trains & investigate & report on the expediency of extending the road." On November 6 they voted to discontinue the train leaving Boston at 7:15 and Cambridge at 7:40 P.M., unless the Fitchburg Railroad would run it both ways for one dollar. On January 22 they voted to petition the legislature for leave to extend the road to Fresh Pond and for the necessary increase of capital, a vote reflecting considerable optimism. In conformance with the stockholders' vote of March 5, Hubbard and Dana were selected to confer with the Fitchburg Railroad as to per cent of profit and cost. At the same meeting (March 8, 1851) it was voted that these two, with Mr. Hastings,³⁴ confer with the Boston and Maine Railroad as to extending the road to their line in Somerville. At the following meeting, on March 13, the sum of fifty dollars was authorized for a survey of such a connection. On May 9, at the same meeting which authorized a mortgage to Harvard of the land purchased of the college for a station house, Messrs. Hubbard, Whitney, and Dana were directed to negotiate with the Fitchburg road in relation to a lease.

For their part, the Fitchburg directors had received a report on costs of operating the Harvard Branch from their superintendent, and they voted: "to propose to Harvard Branch Railroad to operate their road, running not less than seven trains per day, for a compensation of fifty cents per mile, and the President is authorized to make arrangement for a lease of said Harvard Branch Railroad if he shall deem it expedient."³⁵ This was the same arrangement already in effect without a lease, so it is

³³ Mortgage, March 8, 1851; Middlesex South District Deeds, Book 600, p. 118.

³⁴ It is difficult to tell from here on which Hastings is meant; however, the Cambridge Directory for 1851 lists Oliver as a director, not E. T.

³⁵ Fitchburg Railroad minutes, March 12, 1851.

not surprising that nothing came of it. On June 23 the directors of the Harvard Branch asked Mr. Ward to "see what a locomotive and cars can be hired for." Yet they had to come back to the Fitchburg Railroad, and on July 22 voted to present to the stockholders, at their meeting on August 5, the following proposal: "To authorize a lease of the road to the Fitchburg R. R. Company for four years without rent — they keeping the road in repair and running at least five trains a day." We do not know just how the stockholders voted, but on September 11 a committee of directors, consisting of Hubbard, Batchelder,³⁶ and Ward were asked to confer again with the Fitchburg Railroad regarding the running of the road.

Although their efforts to get the road on a sound financial basis were of primary significance to the directors, other aspects of operations during 1850 and 1851 are of interest. Special excursions and trains were run from time to time. On January 19, 1850, Mr. Whitney was directed to make arrangements for carrying two Sunday schools. And on June 24 it was voted to run six extra trains on July 4, and four extra on commencement and Phi Beta Kappa days. On November 26 it was voted to establish a platform station at Divinity Hall Avenue. Special payments to directors for extra services were also considered from time to time. President Hubbard, on June 24, 1850, was granted \$173.75 for legal services and \$200 for acting as superintendent of construction. Estes Howe agreed to serve for the year 1850-1851 as clerk and treasurer for the balance due on his stock; and he was paid \$150 on February 11, 1852, for his services in distributing the script. The records on occasion contain a clue to holdings of stock; thus on November 6, 1850, a note for \$500 was accepted from W. L. Whitney for one-half his subscription, indicating that he held ten shares.

We have already considered, in connection with the special report of February, 1851, the operating expenses and income for 1850. The third annual report, covering 1851, also showed a deficit. Cumulative debts were as follows: funded debt, evidently represented by the mortgage, \$5,590; floating debt, \$6,500, which was the same as the preceding year. A note stated that there were "several unliquidated claims and

³⁶ Although one of the early instigators of the road, this was Batchelder's first appearance on the board. He declined to serve, and was replaced on February 11, 1852, by Willard Phillips, who was president of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. His tax rate in 1851 was \$135.51.

accounts, the amount of which cannot be accurately stated, say \$1,200." The miles run by passenger trains numbered 2,881, and the total number of passengers carried, 91,672, a reduction of some 9,000 over the previous year. Repairs cost \$107.89, and the contract with the Fitchburg road came to \$6,723, making a total of \$6,830.89. Income from passengers was \$5,853, leaving an operating deficit for the year of \$977.89, or some \$310 more than the preceding year. The six-months figures for 1851 were: for January through June, 7,021 miles at a cost of \$3,510.50; and for July through December, 7,749 miles at a cost of \$3,874.50. Additional capital amounting to \$1,140 had come in during 1851. The Fitchburg Railroad, in its report covering the year 1851, considered the number of free passes issued, and noted that the Harvard Branch accounted for 1,083. This would seem a rather unnecessary additional burden on the little road.

Failing in their efforts to have the Fitchburg Railroad take over the road, the next expedient the directors tried was a lease. Acting on the advice of the stockholders obtained at their meeting of December 23, 1851, the directors on December 27 leased the road to Herbert H. Stimpson.³⁷ The lease does not appear in the records, but what the arrangement was is shown by a later entry relating to Stimpson. On September 23, 1852, the directors voted: "H. H. Stimpson to give this Corporation for the use of the road & Station house, the surplus proceeds of the fares & freight if any after paying expense of trains, repairs, interest on the debts to the College and to said Stimpson, insurance, advertising, and other expenses — to be applied in discharge of said two debts, Mr. Stimpson to guarantee the Corporation against any claim for the above expenses and interest." Further, the president was authorized "to audit the charges of Mr. Stimpson for payment of the outstanding debts of the Corporation and to give him the obligation of the Corporation to reimburse the same." And finally, the president was also authorized at this meeting "to contract with the Fitchburg Railroad Company for the transportation of passengers & freight between Cambridge & Boston." Thus, it appears that Stimpson was operating the road as an agent of the company and that he had become a creditor, evidently a result of the December

³⁷ The writer has not learned whether he was a relative of John Stimpson, the station master. He was a resident of Cambridge, and his 1851 tax was \$149.72. He became a director of the Harvard Branch in July, 1852. With his brother, Frederick, he operated a stove and range business in Boston.

lease. The reference to freight is also of interest, as is the fact that the Fitchburg Railroad was still actually operating the trains.

A new combined advertisement and timetable, printed by the *Cambridge Chronicle*, was issued on January 5, 1852, perhaps to signalize the new management of the road. It is headed, "Harvard Branch Railroad for Cambridge Colleges . . . New Arrangement." Season tickets were still six dollars a quarter, and a package of ten tickets cost a dollar. This included the cost of transportation to Dover Street in Boston, or to the New South Boston Bridge, by the Dover Street Omnibus and the South Boston Omnibus. Tickets to and from Cambridge and the Fitchburg Station in Boston cost fifty cents for seven, and single tickets remained at ten cents; these prices did not permit transfer to an omnibus. Passengers leaving the Cambridge station could take omnibuses in the First Ward for three cents. They were to use the order slate at Wood and Halls and at the station. Boston offices were the Lowell Ticket Office and Scollay's Buildings, Court Street, and single tickets could be obtained at Charles Stimpson's, 116 Washington Street. A similar notice appeared on April 5, except that the paragraphs relating to the Cambridge omnibuses and the Boston offices were omitted.³⁸ An additional afternoon train was added each way, making eight round trips a day instead of seven. Such were efforts to make travel on the Harvard Branch more convenient and attractive.

Stimpson continued to operate the road, in accordance with the arrangement of September, 1852, for another year. The fourth and fifth annual reports (for the years 1852 and 1853) do not contain much information, since each includes a note to the effect that the road was being operated by the Fitchburg Railroad and "its doings are returned by the officers of that corporation." However, totals of the funded and floating debts are shown; for 1852 the former \$5,590 and the latter, \$1,200, making a total of \$6,790; and for 1853 the funded debt is shown as \$5,910,³⁹ the floating debt as \$1,502 (an increase of \$302), making a total of \$7,412. The Fitchburg Railroad report for the year 1852 indi-

³⁸ Photostats of both posters are in the Harvard University Archives; here also is a facsimile of the earlier one. The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society also has a reprint of the January 5 advertisement. A copy of a poster once in the Harvard Club of Boston cannot now (1959) be found there.

³⁹ The report is in error in stating the preceding year's funded debt to be \$5,910; it was \$5,590.

HARVARD BRANCH RAILROAD.

FOR CAMBRIDGE COLLEGES.



ON AND AFTER MONDAY, JAN. 5, 1852,

TRAINS WILL RUN AS FOLLOWS:

**LEAVE CAMBRIDGE,
NEAR THE COLLEGES,**

7.30 A. M.

8.30 "

10.15 "

1.40 P. M.

3.30 "

4.25 "

6.30 "

7.10 "

**LEAVE BOSTON,
AT THE FITCHBURG STATION,**

8.00 A. M.

9.30 "

12.45 P. M.

2.15 "

3.50 "

5.30 "

6.50 "

11.15 "

* Except on Saturdays, when it will leave at 10 P. M.

NEW ARRANGEMENT.

Season Tickets, \$6 per quarter. Package Tickets, ten for a dollar, will convey passengers from and to Cambridge to Dover Street, or to the New South Boston Bridge, by the Dover street Omnibus and the South Boston Omnibus, which leave the Fitchburg Station on the arrival of each train.

Tickets to and from Cambridge to Fitchburg Station at fifty cents for a package of seven. Single Tickets ten cents, for cars only. For sale at the Railroad Stations, and by Charles Stimpson, 101 Washington street, Boston.

Passengers taken to and from the Station in Cambridge to any distance now run by the Cambridge Omnibuses in the First Ward, for three cents. Order slate, at Wood & Hall's and at the Station.

The office in Boston is in the Lowell Ticket Office, Scolley's Buildings, Court street. Passengers called for at this Office.

cates a balance due from the Harvard Branch of \$1,751.59. It is not surprising, therefore, that the directors of the Fitchburg Railroad became increasingly concerned about the state of the Harvard Branch. On August 10, 1853, they voted to authorize the president to annul the contract if he deemed it advisable. On September 14, he was authorized to purchase a small engine and to operate the branch, "as he may deem for the interests of the Company."

There is no record of meetings of the directors of the Harvard Branch for almost a year following September 23, 1852; but on September 12, 1853 they acted. In an important vote they decided: "That the Fitchburg Railroad Company may have the use of the Harvard Branch Road & Station House, free of rent, upon condition that they keep the same in repair & hold this corporation harmless from damages by their use of the same, for three months from Oct. 1st, 1853, with the right to renew this agreement for one year from January first 1854, if the Fitchburg Railroad Company so elect, provided that the Fitchburg R. R. Company furnish the Clerk with the requisite data so that he may make the returns required by law." Meeting again the next day, they released Stimpson from his obligations. They voted to issue scrip covering the company's indebtedness to him, and they accepted his proposal for discontinuing the running of cars on and after September 30. After that date, the Fitchburg Railroad was to take over operations, in accordance with the preceding agreement.

The beginning of the end is foreshadowed in February, 1854, when the directors voted to petition the legislature for leave to sell and assign the Harvard Branch Railroad and to discontinue the road or any part thereof. The legislature approved an act, dated April 19, 1854, authorizing the trustees under the mortgage (James Dana, Oliver Hastings, and Gardiner G. Hubbard) to discontinue and sell the road, to apply the purchase money to discharge liens, incumbrances, and debts, and to turn over the balance to stockholders.⁴⁰ However, since there was no buyer, the road continued to run, under the same arrangements; on May 22 a timetable was issued.⁴¹ On August 14 the directors of the Fitchburg Railroad reported receipt of a communication from H. Stimpson relating to fares; it was referred to the president. The sixth annual report, cover-

⁴⁰ Mass. Laws 1854, chap. 334.

⁴¹ The original is in the Harvard University Archives.

ing the year 1854, records the same total for the funded and floating debts (\$7,412), and notes two mortgages, totaling \$5,910. It ends with the statement: "The road is operated by a lessee, in conjunction with the Fitchburg road, to which corporation reference is made for these returns."⁴²

By the end of the year 1854, the directors were ready to submit to the forthcoming meeting of the stockholders the proposal to sell the road. But they were still also seeking ways of persuading the Fitchburg Railroad to continue to operate the line. They voted, on December 23, to propose to that railroad that "seventy per cent of the gross fares for passengers passing to or from the Harvard Branch Railroad, from or to any station on the Fitchburg Railroad, using horse power or steam power on the Harvard Branch, be retained by the Fitchburg Railroad Company; the Car or Cars used on the Harvard Branch being supplied by the Fitchburg Railroad Company and attached only to the short trains on that road, and that thirty per cent of such gross fares be allowed to the Harvard Branch, the expense of the repairs of the Harvard Branch being borne by the two companies in the same proportion." The reference to horse cars is of interest, for it was the horse car, though not on this line, which finally took over the business of the Harvard Branch. The directors further suggested that they might supply the cars, in which case "twenty per cent per annum on the cost of the cars when new be allowed to the Harvard Branch for the Cars out of the Fitchburg Company's Seventy per cent of gross proceeds of fares." And in case the two companies could not agree, then commissioners were to be requested, so that terms might be worked out.

To further the chance of merging with the Fitchburg Railroad, the directors in January, 1855, asked the legislature for a clarification of the charter. By Act of March 26, it was stated that the purchasers might form a corporation and might transfer to any other railroad corporation, which might own and manage in their own name or in that of the Harvard Branch Railroad. Further, the right to unite with the Fitchburg Railroad Corporation was confirmed, and to "use Fitchburg Railroad Corporation tracks, provided nothing shall require the Fitchburg Rail-

⁴² The Harvard College Papers 2nd Series, Vol. XX, p. 398, contain a letter from John G. Palfrey to William T. Andrews, dated March 16, 1854, concerning protection of his interests, in case the railroad is allowed to sell. Some of Palfrey's land had been taken by the railroad.

road to run an extra train or trains for the Harvard Branch Railroad.”⁴³ No agreement with the Fitchburg Railroad could be reached, and on May 29, 1855, the directors of the Harvard Branch voted to apply to the Supreme Court to appoint commissioners to settle the terms on which the Harvard Branch should use the Boston and Fitchburg Railroad. But by then it was much too late to save the Harvard Branch.

One of the difficulties related to fares, and this affected all the railroads out of Boston. The Harvard Branch had struggled to maintain the ten cent fare, and had even increased the value of certain multiple rates by a connection with omnibus lines out of the Fitchburg station.⁴⁴ But, as the railroads were meeting increased costs, the movement to increase fares became widespread. It reached its climax in the spring of 1855, when the local railroads agreed to a 25 per cent increase. The Fitchburg Railroad, disregarding the agreement, increased its fares 40 per cent, arousing considerable opposition among residents of Somerville and Cambridge. The *Boston Journal* for March 2 states: “The rate of season ticket fares over the Harvard Branch Railroad has been raised 50 per cent, I learn, and the passengers seem to have generally deserted the cars for the omnibuses. So I infer from the beggarly account of empty seats in the former, this afternoon.” The threat seems to have had an effect, for according to advertisements in the *Cambridge Chronicle*, starting on April 14, tickets were to be eleven for a dollar and ten cents for a single ticket. The notices recorded the summer schedule, to be in effect on and after April 9, and stated that tickets might be obtained from J. C. Stiles at the station. Despite this optimistic note, the controversy over fares affected the Harvard Branch seriously.

It is of interest also to note the efforts to provide the schedule most attractive to customers. Starting out with six trains each way, the Harvard Branch within a few months had increased the number to seven. In August, 1850, perhaps reflecting the lighter summer traffic, it was voted to discontinue the last trains from Cambridge (7:45 P.M.) and Boston (10:45 P.M.). The late train from Boston, however, proved so popular it was restored within a month. In January, 1851, it was again voted to discontinue the last train each way until March 1. By then, seven trains

⁴³ Mass. Laws 1855, chap. 94.

⁴⁴ A vote of December 11, 1851, “to reduce the fare to the rates previous to Oct. 1” indicates that they must have been raised; but the October vote was not recorded.

each way were placed in operation, and they continued, though with slightly varying times, until January, 1852, when another round trip was added. This added train ran in mid-afternoon, but it was dropped from the April schedule. In 1853 and 1854 additional trains were added, until they reached the maximum of ten round trips daily. The late train from Boston had, however, been dropped. Finally, in 1855, the schedule reverted to seven round trips a day; the 10 P.M. from Boston was restored, except that on Saturdays it went at 7:30 P.M. Saturday evenings seem not to have been very gala ones in the city, for preceding schedules show an earlier train back to Cambridge that night than others. Although the number of round trips per day never reached the figure Felton had in mind (fifteen), the operators of the Harvard Branch still tried to provide an adequate and well-spaced schedule.⁴⁵

The directors seem to have attended to their duties with reasonable faithfulness. During 1849, while the road was in process of construction, they held fourteen meetings. In 1850 there were nine, and in 1851 eleven. Thereafter, since the road was being operated by an agent, meetings were few: three in 1852, two in 1853, two in 1854, and three in 1855. Of the directors, Hubbard, as president, was the most active, being a member of twenty-one committees and present at thirty-eight meetings. General Dana served on sixteen committees, many of those relating to relations with the Fitchburg Railroad. Howe, as clerk and treasurer, was present at most of the meetings and also served on fourteen committees. Of the two Hastings, Oliver, since he continued longer as a director than Edmund, was the more active, but he seems to have dropped out by the end of 1851. During the last two years of operation, the business was conducted largely by Hubbard, Stimpson, and Phillips, with Dana occasionally in attendance, and with Howe as clerk. In view of the fact that it was the prospect of the horse railroad which spelled the doom of the Harvard Branch, it is ironical that several of these men were later active in the affairs of the Cambridge Railroad (1853) and the Union Railway (1855). Gardiner G. Hubbard was the principal instigator of the Union Railway, which was to be a horse railway; and among its officers were Estes Howe, clerk and treasurer, H. H. Stimpson,

⁴⁵ In addition to printed timetables, advertisements, and posters, schedules occasionally appear in the minutes of the directors; they may also be found in the *American Railway Guide* and *ABC Pathfinder*.

president, Willard Phillips, and William A. Saunders. Howe and Hubbard were also concerned in railroad projects outside New England, such as the Mad River and Lake Erie Railroad; this also failed.

An important factor in the failure of the Harvard Branch was the convenience of the omnibus, and later the horse car. The main omnibus line ran to Cambridge Street and Bowdoin Square in Boston, and from there it was but a short distance to the shopping district of that day. Furthermore, the Fitchburg Railroad, far from being interested in maintaining branch lines, was actively opposed to them. In their annual report for 1856, the directors stated that the seven railroads terminating in Boston "would be far better off if every branch was at once discontinued and the iron taken up." The situation was not so different from that of today, when the railroads wish to give up unprofitable commuter lines. The directors of the Harvard Branch, seeing that it was hopeless to think of coming to an agreement with the Fitchburg Railroad for the operation of the road, and faced with continuing deficits, voted on June 14, 1855, that the road be sold at public auction on the sixth of July.

In accordance with the vote of the directors, advertisement of the sale appeared in the *Cambridge Chronicle* of June 23 and 30. For terms and particulars it directed interested persons to Estes Howe, treasurer, and it was signed, Herbert H. Stimpson, clerk pro tem. The *Cambridge Chronicle* for July 14 briefly records the event: "The sale of this road took place, as advertised, on Friday, the 6th inst. at the Station House in Old Cambridge. William L. Whitney, Esq., of this City was the purchaser at \$10,500. The original cost of the road, including the station house, was about \$27,000."⁴⁶ On September 10 the treasurer reported the sale to the directors and told of arrangements for paying off debts. He said that he had paid the mortgage to Harvard College with interest, the debt which Stimpson had paid (also with interest), sundry expenses, and that he had money enough to pay the scrip, again with interest. Some \$1,175 would then remain, enough to give each stockholder about \$5.65 a share, allowing for 208 shares outstanding. The loss was thus \$94.35 a share, a sorry ending to the Harvard Branch. Whitney, as purchaser, did better than the others, as we shall see. As late as 1870, the directors of the Fitchburg Railroad offered to purchase the Harvard Branch fran-

⁴⁶ The *American Railway Times* for July 19 has a similar note; however, they state the original cost to have been \$22,000.

chise from him for \$1,000.⁴⁷ And in 1874 J. A. Holmes sent word to him to call at an office in Boston. A note at the bottom of the sheet states that the call related to the roadbed and charter of the Harvard Branch, and that one-fourth belonged to the estate of E. T. Hastings, and one-half to Whitney.⁴⁸ Thus the Harvard Branch Railroad passes from the record.

We will let literature have the last word. John Holmes⁴⁹ wrote to James Russell Lowell in September, 1855: "Poor little Harvard Branch was sold up about two months since — William L. Whitney bought it, \$10,500, and he has resold it in the most thorough manner — land (most of it), rails, turntable-stones (foundation — underpinning), and hath made a good bargain of it. I should not omit the station house, which was sold in lengths, like tape — and of which the front part was bought by College for the use of the new Professor Huntington."⁵⁰ Referring to the matter again in a letter of November 10, also to Lowell, he wrote: "You know H.B.R.R. has been sold up. Well, College bought the station house, curvature of the spine and all."⁵¹ They have cut off two thirds or more of the rear for a carpenter's shop, and left the front for the new Professor Huntington for moral gymnastics, I don't know exactly what."⁵² The building did not remain for the use of Professor Huntington very long. Dining facilities for the students were at that time very poor, and in 1865 Andrew Preston Peabody, Huntington's successor as Plummer Professor, hired the old station, and, with the assistance of Nathaniel Thayer, fitted it up as a commons. Within a year, the quarters proved too small, and Mr. Thayer, with others, contributed towards an enlargement. But with the building of Memorial Hall in 1874 and the provision of a large dining area there, Thayer Commons was closed. In 1883 it was torn down to make room for Austin Hall, the Harvard Law School building. It was reported in the 1930's that a part of the

⁴⁷ Directors' Minutes, Fitchburg Railroad, May 6, 1870.

⁴⁸ Letter in the Manuscript Division, Baker Library, Harvard.

⁴⁹ Brother of Oliver Wendell Holmes, a lawyer, resident of Cambridge. His home was near the station; acquired by the College in 1871, it was torn down at the same time the former station was, to make room for Austin Hall.

⁵⁰ Frederic Dan Huntington, Plummer Professor of Christian Morals, 1855-1860.

⁵¹ The college repurchased the property from Whitney for \$3,993.44. College Papers, 2nd Series, Vol. XXII, p. 297.

⁵² *Letters of John Holmes to James Russell Lowell and Others*, ed. by William Roscoe Thayer, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1917, p. 17, 24-25.

old building was moved and became President Eliot's stables near where the Paine Music Building now is.⁵³

Looking backward, we can assign many reasons for the failure of the Harvard Branch Railroad; several have been mentioned already. There proved to be insufficient clientele in the Harvard Square and Old Cambridge area, and the road made too indirect a run to Boston to attract all the passengers it should have. In view of the fact that the road never made a profit, we may ask why it was ever constructed at all. Some later observers have said that, had the horse cars been in operation in 1849, the railroad would not have been built.⁵⁴ But allowance must be made for the popular enthusiasm for railroads in the 1840's; it was a matter of pride, even of necessity, for Old Cambridge to be connected to Boston by rail. The instigators were also businessmen, and we must conclude that they guessed wrong. But their failure at least provided Old Cambridge and Harvard with a colorful episode; not until the coming of the rapid transit was Harvard Square to be in such direct and speedy connection with Boston. We can be grateful that the experiment was at least tried, and that the loss was not unduly severe. Each change in the mode of transportation is an occasion of regrets on the part of some; our regrets at the demise of the Harvard Branch can be quite detached. Who can now visualize a railroad running from just in back of the Littauer Building to Somerville? — the effect on present-day Harvard and Cambridge would be drastic.

⁵³ Letter, Charles F. Mason to Anna F. Dakin, Dec. 18, 1937, Harvard University Archives. Pictures of the building may be found in Class Albums preserved in the Harvard University Archives, starting with the Class of 1861; also in *The Harvard Book*, Cambridge, 1875, vol. II, and in Moses King, *Harvard and Its Surroundings . . .*, Cambridge, 1878, and other editions.

⁵⁴ Thomas F. O'Malley, *op. cit.*; also F. B. Rowell and C. H. Paige. The Union Railway Company began operation on July 14, 1855, according to Paige. A horse railway, the first of its kind, was in operation from Harvard Square to Union Square, Somerville from 1845, according to Paige, to 1856. An old Fitchburg car was used, and it was attached to trains in and out of Boston. It must have provided considerable competition to the Harvard Branch. The Charles River Railway was incorporated in 1881; along with the Cambridge Railway, it became part of the West End system in 1887.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CAMBRIDGE SOCIAL DRAMATIC CLUB

By RICHARD W. HALL

Read January 26, 1960

IT is altogether fitting that this paper on the Dramatic Club should be given in Craigie House. Some of the earliest plays of which we have a record were presented here and from the beginning, as you will see later on, the Longfellow family was active, first in the private theatricals, then in the plays at the Arsenal, and finally in the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club when Miss Anne Thorpe, to whom we are indebted for the use of the house tonight, appeared in several plays.

Probably many of you, certainly some that I recognize here, remember the Golden Jubilee dinner of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club on October 24, 1939. I accent the word *social* because that part of the club's name did not come into existence until 1891 though the Cambridge Dramatic Club began its existence in 1876 and the records show that as far back as 1862 amateur theatricals were presented in private houses by actors and actresses who later organized the two more recent clubs. In 1862 a group of Cambridge residents met at Governor Washburn's home in Quincy Street for a performance of *Dickens Scenes* and *A Morning Call* for the benefit of the Cambridge branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, which, during the Civil War, corresponded roughly to the Red Cross of today. It is interesting to note that in an old account book of the Sanitary Commission there is an entry under date of December 18, 1862, "Received from Private Theatricals \$125.00." It is a fair assumption that this money came from the performances in Governor Washburn's house, but whether from sale of tickets or from a collection taken at the time I cannot definitely say. However, an entry on February 19, 1863, "Extra Theatrical Ticket, \$1.00," would lead one to believe that the earlier receipts were from sale of tickets.

Undoubtedly there were many such performances in subsequent years, but I have found no record of any until ten years later. In 1872 we find a record of "An Amateur Performance of 'The Rose and the

Ring' at Mr. Greenough's House in Appian Way. Dramatization and management by J. B. Greenough." The cast for this performance included

Miss Longfellow	Mr. Jones
Miss C. Howe	Mr. T. Howe
Miss Hopkinson (later Mrs. Charles W. Eliot)	Mr. Stone
Miss K. Howe (later Mrs. H. N. Wheeler)	Mr. Richards
Mr. J. B. Greenough	Mr. W. P. Greenough
Mr. Delano	Mr. Tilden
	Mr. S. Howe
	Mr. M. Howe

and as guards and pages Messrs. Dodge, Howe, Elliott, and Greenough.

The performance was very successful and was followed by Mr. Greenough's other play, *The Queen of Hearts*, given at Craigie House and later published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. *The Queen of Hearts* brought into the cast Miss G. Horsford, Miss K. Horsford, Miss Farley, Miss Whitney, Mr. Wetmore and Mr. McMillan. It has been justly stated that these two performances led directly to the establishment of the Cambridge Dramatic Club, which in turn led to the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club. Most if not all the participants in these two plays subsequently appeared in one capacity or another in the more formal productions that were to follow.

In 1876 the old Cambridge Arsenal on Arsenal Square became available with a stage and a small auditorium. Mr. Samuel Eliot at the Golden Jubilee gave us a first-hand account of the Cambridge Dramatic Club that was so much better than anything I could write that I will quote it.

"The original club was started in the Winter of 1876-77. The old warehouse of the State Arsenal at Garden and Chauncey Streets — where the Continental Hotel now stands — was rented and transformed into a cozy and adequate play-house. The audience was comfortably seated in folding chairs on a sloping floor with two aisles. The stage had sufficient depth and the dressing and make-up rooms below were plain but convenient enough. Lighting was, of course, not as well understood then as it is now and there were just footlights and, I think, one spotlight.

The Club was composed of Cambridge neighbors and friends with a scattering of college boys. The leading spirits were John P. Hopkinson and Katie Howe, later Mrs. Henry N. Wheeler. They headed an extraordinarily competent group of amateur players. Mr. Hopkinson took the heavy gentlemen parts and Katie Howe, most brilliant and vivacious of the group, was the leading lady.

Alice Longfellow took the parts for older women with rare distinction and one happily recalls her charm and grace and the silvery tones of her voice. Sadie Eustis took the young girl parts and was lovely to look at — lithe, buoyant and capable. The character parts for men were taken by Dr. Norton Folsom, Professors Greenough and Jackson, and an exceedingly clever law student named McMillan. The women's character parts and the soubrettes were in the expert hands of Clara Howe, Kate Horsford and Alice Jones (Aunt of Pauline and Lily Jones). For the Juvenile leads there were Harry Hodges, Arthur Perrin and an incomparable undergraduate John Sidney Webb.

The club's first performance was given on February 1, 1877, with John Hopkinson, Professor J. B. Greenough, Alice Longfellow and Maidie Devens and a splendid supporting cast playing *The Critic*. That performance was repeated in April 1885 as the last play before the cherished Arsenal Theater was torn down.

Of course I cannot catalogue all the plays any more than I can name all the players. I recall *The Rivals* with Mr. Hopkinson as Sir Anthony Absolute and Kate Horsford as an unapproachable Mrs. Malaprop, and *Masks and Faces* with Kate Howe as an enchanting Peg Woffington and Frank Sever as the infant triplet. We even ventured into musical shows — *The Blackbirds*, *The Rose and the Ring*, *Box and Cox*. Grace Hopkinson — until she married President Eliot — the charming songstress, Charlie and Phil Stone, Charlie Reed and Gus Tucker — the tenors, and Elliott Pendleton and Bert Williams as the basses — a really remarkable array of musical talent.

My own first part was in a play called *On Guard* — a servant's part with one speech. [If I may interrupt Mr. Eliot for a moment, I hope he was more successful than I was in the second act of *The Barker* where I had one speech and in three performances forgot to say it. The play went on and no one knew the difference.] Then in my junior year I was given the fat part of a benevolent uncle and then took over the juvenile leads. There were some embarrassments for young lovers on the amateur stage in those days in connection with osculatory incidents. Kissing was forbidden — what unhappy prudes we were — and that prohibitive law was especially annoying when one was playing opposite Alice Grey or with Edith Young in *The Secret Agent*. [Again interrupting Mr. Eliot, I remember one play in later years where the leading man was supposed to kiss the leading lady, not once but several times. Just before the curtain went up on the dress rehearsal she said to him, "Please don't kiss me tonight — my maids are in the audience and I don't want them to think I am promiscuous."] In *She Stoops to Conquer* I played Young Marlowe to Mrs. Wheeler's Kate Hardcastle. Mrs. Wheeler was older than I and our star performer so I held her in some awe. When the stage direction read "He tousles her hair" I needed some encouragement."

Membership in the Cambridge Dramatic Club was divided into two classes — active and associate. The former members paid annual dues of one dollar and were given certain ticket privileges. In addition they

could attend rehearsals and take part in many backstage amusements. On the other hand, according to the by-laws it was "the duty of each [active member] to do whatever work may be assigned by proper authority" such as acting, directing, prompting, costumes, properties, etc. As the club did four and sometimes five performances a season this by-law must have been strictly enforced. It is not easy to find fifty or more people to work either on stage or backstage. The associate members were the audience and paid from three to six dollars a year according to whether the club gave two, three, or four performances. Associate membership was originally limited to one hundred but later increased "at the pleasure of the club," meaning of the active members. The normal number of productions in a season was four, but in the very first season five plays were given — *Our Bitterest Foe* by G. C. Herbert, *The Critic* by Sheridan, *London Assurance* by Dion Boucicault, *The Romance of a Poor Young Man* from the French of Octave Feuillet, and Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*. Again, in the season of 1878-79, the club presented five plays including *Joy Is Dangerous*, to the account of which there was a footnote reading "Miss Davis having broken her arm Miss Longfellow took her part to great acceptance, without rehearsal, at one day's notice. Miss K. C. Howe read the part at Dress Rehearsal."

By 1880 the club was well established with Dr. Norton Folsom as secretary. His notices, written in longhand with purple ink, were short, courteous and to the point, such as "A meeting of the Cambridge Dramatic Club . . . for special business. Prompt attendance and early adjournment are desired." Certainly these were desirable and, I have no doubt, were accomplished, but I remember many a meeting in later years where we had prompt attendance but far from early adjournment.

Another notice from Dr. Folsom reads:

C. D. C. Picnic. On Monday, June 27, weather permitting, the barges will leave the North side of the first Parish Church, Harvard Square, at 3 P.M. and proceed to the Arsenal; thence, leaving at 3-15, to Prof. Longfellow's; and thence, starting at 3-30, to the Riverside Boat House, in about two hours. The B. & A. R.R. train leaving Boston at 5 P.M. reaches Riverside at 5-28 and the party of thirty persons will then take boats for either Roberts' Mills or Fox Island, sup at 7 o'clock, and take boats again to Waltham, meet the barges there by 9-30 and can get home before 11 o'clock.

For Comm. N. Folsom, June 21, 1881

Included with this notice was a message —

An (anonymous) communication of *some* kind, in prose or verse, is earnestly requested from *each* member, to be read at the picnic.

I have not found any record of these anonymous communications, but I imagine they caused a good deal of hilarity. Obviously, because it was a party of only thirty persons, the picnic was for the active members. They worked and worked hard during the season but they had lots of fun.

Unfortunately, the Cambridge Dramatic Club was forced to disband at the end of the season 1884–85 because the Arsenal was to be torn down. For its last production the club gave two performances — *A Household Fairy*, and, in memory of its first performance in 1876, *The Critic*. Many of the original cast were still active but much new blood had been added since 1876. Among those who had come to stay and guide the destinies of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club, as yet unborn, were Miss Alberta Houghton, Miss Kate Noble, who later became Mrs. James J. Greenough, Mr. Thomas Ticknor, for years an actor and director, Mr. James J. Greenough, and Mr. H. N. Wheeler, director, stage manager, secretary, and treasurer, who in 1883 married Miss Kate Howe, who had been from the first the most active of active members. All of these were later to become the nucleus of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club.

The passing of the Cambridge Dramatic Club was celebrated by a grand farewell dinner at Young's hotel on May 11, 1885, with "sentiments read by N. Folsom, responses called for by J. P. Hopkinson who presided: alternating with songs, solo or quartet, as directed by S. A. Eliot." The Cambridge Dramatic Club was no more.

But the desire for amateur theatricals would not die. In January 1891 the building of Brattle Hall by the Cambridge Social Union provided an excellent place for dramatic performances. Mrs. H. N. Wheeler who, you will recall, was Miss Katie Howe, "most brilliant and vivacious" of the original Arsenal group, and Mrs. James J. Greenough, who was Miss Kate Noble before her marriage, conceived the idea of reviving the Arsenal Players in conjunction with a smaller social club called the Saturday Club. A committee was formed consisting of Messrs. Folsom,

Wheeler, Greenough, and Agassiz, and Mrs. Wheeler, Miss Eustis, Miss Kate Horsford, and Mrs. Eliot, formerly Miss Grace Hopkinson, the "charming songstress" of Arsenal days. As early as January, 1890, the committee sent out a notice reading "It is proposed to start in Cambridge a new club, which shall be a combination of the old Saturday Night and Cambridge Dramatic Clubs" with meetings to be "held in Brattle Hall on Saturday evenings and some dramatic performance or other entertainment given in the early part of the evening, followed by simple refreshments and — from eleven to twelve o'clock — dancing," but it was not until January, 1891, that the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club came into being as outlined in the earlier notice. The response to the first notice was immediate and voluminous. Almost from the start it was found necessary to establish a waiting list, which existed for many years.

Originally the stage in Brattle Hall was only nineteen feet deep. When scenery was in place the only way one could cross from one side of the stage to the other was to go outdoors, walk across the back of the building, and come in on the other side. I have been told that during one performance an actor did cross outside during a snow storm and, brushing snow off his clothes and hair, walked into a stage garden party on a warm summer afternoon. I remember a much later play where the programme told us that the scene in the second act was a tea party in the garden of an English country house. On Saturday night we discovered too late that the man from whom we had rented the garden scenery had taken it away. Mr. Cogswell, always resourceful and taking advantage of the rainy weather outside, stepped before the curtain and announced that due to the inclement weather the tea party had been moved from the garden into the house.

In 1899 the stage was enlarged to a depth of forty feet and a troublesome chimney was removed. Space was provided for dressing rooms, a scene dock, a property room, and a green room, which was the scene of many meetings and after-the-play suppers. As time went on the green room walls became hung with framed programmes and pictures. When Brattle Hall was finally sold these were removed and stored in the cellar of a member's house. Unfortunately the cellar became flooded and all the programs and pictures were destroyed. However, I have been able to collect some items and they are arranged around the room for those who choose to look at them later.

The first performance of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club was *A Fool for Luck* on January 24, 1891, followed by three other performances in rapid succession. The Cambridge Social Dramatic Club had arrived. It was a success from the start. In 1898 it was found necessary to issue a limited number of season tickets to the dress rehearsals in order to take care of some of those desiring to belong. Later on, when the auditorium was extended toward the street and a balcony was added, more members were admitted and still there was a waiting list. Finally, beginning with the season of 1919-20 it was decided to give two regular performances, on Friday and Saturday, as well as the dress rehearsal on Thursday. The regular performances were followed by a supper and by dancing until one o'clock on Friday and until midnight on Saturday. The notice announcing this change again stresses the existence of a long waiting list.

From the beginning the club attracted talented actors and actresses, many of whom went on to become well known on Broadway and in Hollywood. Josephine Sherwood, for years a star on Broadway as Josephine Hull, first played with us in 1895 while a student at Radcliffe and appeared regularly throughout her college days. Harry Woodruff, later the star in *Brown of Harvard*, played leads for several years. Winthrop Ames and Vinton Freedley became successful New York producers. Eleanor Wesselhoeft went to Hollywood as did Hamilton MacFadden. Dorothy Sands, our director in the early twenties, is well established on Broadway, and T. S. Eliot, who played in *The New Lady Bancroft*, is now famous as a poet, essayist, and playwright. Ed Massey, director and actor, became a director in New York. Francis Cleveland organized the Barnstormers in Tamworth, N.H., in 1930 and is still going strong. Many others went on to summer theaters: Charles S. Howard, Edward P. Goodnow, who also went to Hollywood, Robert Wallston, Irving Locke, Sidney Ball, John Stanley, Amy de G. Hall, Lily Jones, Elizabeth Sever, and Jean Goodale. Eleanor Holmes Hinkley, a club member who wrote two of our plays, was the author of *Dear Jane*, which was in Eva Le Gallienne's repertoire. There were many others who could have been successes on the professional stage if they had chosen such a career.

On the business end, the C.S.D.C. was from 1890 to 1919 an informal organization conducted by a self-perpetuating executive committee of

thirteen. In 1919 the club was incorporated and Mr. Charles N. Cogswell was elected president, a position he held until his death in 1941. To his tact, humor, unfailing interest and encouragement belong what honor and success the club attained after he took office. And he needed all the tact and humor he possessed. The club was run by a board of seven directors, who were elected by the active committee of twenty-five members elected by the club at large. Previously the active committee was appointed by the executive committee and they were pledged to take part in any performance when called upon by the proper authority. The active committee elected by the club at large was under no such compulsion. Their only official function was to elect the directors and officers, but their unofficial function was to criticize the plays, the casting, the productions, or anything else that came to mind. Also the annual meeting, held in the spring, became more of a social event than a discussion of policy. Attendance was quite punctual but early adjournment, while desirable, was nearly impossible. But if early adjournment of the active committee was difficult, it was even more difficult when the directors met to choose and cast a play. There were two members who would never agree; what one liked the other one disliked. So we would end up discussing half a dozen plays and finally agreeing on a compromise. Then the real discussion commenced — who would be asked to play in it. Sometime after midnight a cast was selected and different individuals were allotted the task of persuading the selected people to play. Invariably, especially if it was a large cast, there would be some refusals and this would entail either much telephoning or another meeting. I can remember occasions when we had to discard one play because we could not cast it and start all over on a second one. Meanwhile time was running out. Once we put on a play with rehearsals every night for two weeks. Somehow the plays went on, some good, some bad, but the majority were pretty good.

In the middle twenties, when Mr. G. P. Baker, one of our earliest actors, went to New Haven to found the Yale School of Drama, we inherited from his 47 Workshop three excellent directors, Dorothy Sands, Edward Massey, and Edward Goodnough, and a number of competent, well-trained actors. The next decade may well be called the Golden Age of the Dramatic Club. Under the stimulus of these directors and with the talent then available we put on at least one ambitious performance a year,

starting with *East is West* in 1925. The scene was a loveboat on the Yangtze River which we borrowed from the old St. James Theater — at least we thought we had borrowed it, but when we tried to return it they refused to take it back and we were saddled with a large love-boat that nobody wanted. In 1926 we gave "A gala revival of *Fashion* — the sensational success of 1845." Then came *You and I* in 1927, *Hay Fever* in 1928, *The Mask and the Face* in 1929. I have in my yard two climbing roses that were stage properties in that show. In 1930 we did *Outward Bound*, *The Purple Mask* in 1931 with 37 people in the cast, *Gold in the Hills* in 1932, *The Trial of Mary Dugan* and *The Barker* in the season of 1933-34, and *Silas the Chore Boy* in 1935.

There were many other excellent performances besides the ones mentioned above but never such a run of spectacular successes. Incidentally a list of all the plays from 1890 to 1951 is in the exhibits.

In *The Devil's Host* Jack Stanley, who was playing the lead, telephoned me one Monday — the first performance was to be on Thursday — to say he was on his way to the hospital for an appendectomy. We telephoned Francis Cleveland in Tamworth. He arrived on Tuesday and somehow or other learned his lines. He had difficulty learning his business, especially in one scene where he was to hand cocktail glasses to all the people on the stage, and the order in which he did it was very important. As he handed the glass to each person, that one would whisper where to go next. Of course the audience never knew it and the play was a big success.

Not so successful was the time I was pressed into service in *The Yeomen of the Guard* because I was a quick study and did not have to sing much. A week or two after the play a friend who had been in the audience said to me, "Dick, I will go to see you act any time, but for Heaven's sake don't try to sing." I agreed.

Not all of our difficulties were caused by such emergencies. There was the time in *The Mystery Man* when someone forgot to take a pair of handcuffs off Jack Howard. In the middle of a scene with him I saw him suddenly hold two manacled wrists up in the air. I don't remember exactly how we got out of that, but someone came on and freed him in time for his next bit of business. We had all kinds of difficulty in that play. We had a new young man playing the lead. In the first act he skipped about ten pages. I picked up the cue he gave me and we went on

until I realized what had happened and we went back to where he had skipped. He had passed over the first entrance of the leading lady and completely eliminated a small part played by Cushing Toppan. Before we got through that act we had played part of it three times. The third time the audience burst out laughing. It was not funny to us.

In the first act of *Silas the Chore Boy* Lily Jones had to shoo two hens off the stage. One of the hens got on a fence post and refused to move. Lily had to pick up the bird and throw her off-stage where she was caught by a stage hand. We had a livelier bird the next night that ran all over the stage before Lily finally chased her off.

In *Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary* Sally Carleton had a very quick change. The scene was laid in the garden of an English country house. When her cue came to enter, Mrs. Carleton did not appear, leaving the Newbegin brothers Edward and Henry stranded. They covered beautifully until Edward went into the house to look for her. He came out again saying, "She'll be right out," just as she appeared coming through the garden. Someone had moved her shoes, which caused her to be late.

There was scarcely a performance when something did not go wrong, usually without the knowledge of the audience. No one knew that the reason the curtain was late in *The Trial of Mary Dugan* was because one of the men had forgotten to bring down his stage trousers and had to go home for them.

Sometimes our difficulty was with the scenery or the properties. In *Sleeping Dogs* Edward Newbegin was supposed to pick up a large volume from the piano but someone had carelessly thrown a newspaper over it. He covered up very well and pretended to go upstairs for it. While he was "upstairs" someone else found the book. In *The Purple Mask* I was supposed to come into a room from a balcony through French windows. The stage crew had put up a pair of French windows that were nailed solidly in place. I finally ran around and came in the door to find Betty Darling standing in the middle of the stage wondering what was going to happen. We were so glad to see each other that we dashed madly into each other's arms with a bump that almost knocked us over.

Some of the plays were quite ambitious, occasionally sensational. In *The Admirable Crichton* one of our better actresses walked on stage clad in a rather short leopard skin with no shoes or stockings — quite a sensa-

tion in those days and a fine conversation piece for the rest of the season.

In the same play the scene called for a tropical rainstorm just before the end of an act. Mr. Cogswell and Philip Davis sat up all one night driving nail holes in a lead pipe connected by a hose to a faucet off-stage. When the water was turned on the rain was very realistic — too much so. Several ladies sitting in the front row in their low-cut evening dresses were seen slapping their bare chests and arms. The holes in the pipe were not all straight and the cold water was shooting into the audience.

Miss Alberta Houghton used to give a tea at her house for the actors and backstage workers with their spouses. At those teas we would go over all the mishaps. After her death in 1931 there was always a cast party at the house of one of the workers. Somewhere we picked up a sort of theme song to which Dudley Clapp would write lyrics, not always complimentary, about the play just finished which we would sing to the theme song. Like the anonymous verses at the old Dramatic Club picnic these songs caused a good deal of hilarity. Unfortunately the verses were too long and topical to include in this paper but a stanza will serve as an example. In *Dear Ruth* a new girl, Gail Whitehead, had to be kissed by one of the boys in the play. Neither of them knew how to do it so that it would look well from the audience. I was directing the play and, as Gail was most attractive, I was glad to coach her. About this Dudley wrote, "Now Gail never knew all the fun she was missing, till Coach gave her ten easy lessons in kissing." You will find several of these poems displayed around the room.

We were always giving extra performances for some benefit or other. In the spring of 1941 we took *Theater* to Camp Devens. We were told to get there early as we would have supper there. We were given coffee and doughnuts. The hall was filled with convalescent wounded soldiers. There were no programmes. An officer announced that we would give *Theater*, a play in three acts. He neglected to say that Acts I and II each had two scenes. At the end of the first scene in Act II, the soldiers, believing the play was over, all left the auditorium and men were sent out to bring them back. The same thing happened at the end of the second scene. After all it was a play in three acts and they had seen the curtain close four times. But the real fun came at the end. The leading lady, Gene Knudsen, was supposed to go off the stage leaving her maid, Amy

Hall, to stay on stage and light a cigarette. Amy was laughing so hard at something she saw in the wings that every time she tried to light a cigarette it would go out. The boys all over the hall began to yell, "Draw in, sister, draw in — don't blow." She finally got it lighted and the curtain came down to roars of laughter and loud applause.

In 1926 we put on *The Thirteenth Chair* for the benefit of the Cambridge Social Union. The play required that a knife suddenly drop from the ceiling and stick in a table-top. We had rigged an ingenious arrangement that worked perfectly on eight nights. But on the last night the knife came down, struck the table and glanced off, headed for the people in the front row of the audience. Fortunately it landed in the footlight trough.

As you know, we had a golden anniversary dinner to start our fiftieth year in 1939 followed by a short one-act play in which one of the parts was played by Hope Faxon, the great granddaughter of the J. B. Greenough who started the original amateur dramatics — four generations of one family. For our first play that year we gave *Trelawney of the Wells*, a revival of a play given in 1901. It was a most successful production followed by a supper and birthday cake in Mifflin Hall, at which many of the original cast were present. Our last production that season was *Our Town*, probably the best performance we ever gave.

Meanwhile in 1929 the depression had occurred, fortunately after most of our membership dues had been paid for the season, so we were still fairly prosperous. But beginning in the fall of 1930 the membership fell off to such an extent that there was a grave question of our ability to continue. We did want to complete our fifty years and adopted all sorts of measures to keep going. To economize, we changed our programmes to a single sheet and cut out our suppers. Mrs. Munroe Day and Mrs. Charles Bolster formed membership committees that were very successful in getting new members. We had teas for new members and tryouts for actors in Brattle Hall. But a combination of events made our efforts futile. Of course, the subway which opened in 1911 had made access to Boston theaters very easy. The Harvard Dramatic Club and the Radcliffe Idler took the time of many of the undergraduates on whom we had relied for juvenile and ingenue parts. The tax commissioner insisted we pay an admission tax. Financial troubles forced the Social Union first to rent and finally to sell Brattle Hall. We had no home, no place to rehearse,

to store our properties and costumes, to put on our plays. We became nomadic. I had succeeded Mr. Cogswell as president of the club and found it increasingly difficult to find people to take the place of all the old stand-bys who had left or retired.

In 1949 we played *Dear Brutus* in the Agassiz Theater at Radcliffe, followed by *Miranda* on the stage of the Longfellow School. In the spring of 1950 we put on our play in the Belmont Town Hall—*The Winslow Boy*, starring Alec Robey who had succeeded me as president. We ought to have stopped then and there after such a great success and we seriously discussed such a move, but we did want to finish sixty years. We started our sixtieth season with *Pygmalion* in the Belmont Town Hall, followed by *Ladies in Retirement* and *Two Blind Mice*, both in the Masonic Temple on Massachusetts Avenue. By that time it was obvious that no one, neither actors nor audience, liked to go jumping about from one place to another. It had become more and more difficult to get new members or even to keep the ones we had, and also to get new blood for the acting force. We missed the old familiar advantages and disadvantages of Brattle Hall with its memories and traditions, we missed the musty smell of grease-paint and dust. More than anything we missed the audiences. At the meeting of the active committee in the spring of 1949 Sidney Ball, for years one of our most competent and enjoyable actors, had been elected president.

I am sorry that it is impossible to mention all the people who contributed so much to the success of the club. They all worked hard and willingly with no thought of reward except the fun they got out of it. But some great plays and players stick in my memory — *The Adventure of Lady Ursula* with Sally Schaff as an ideal Lady Ursula; Charles Cogswell, that incomparable pantomimist, as the Eyesore in *Pomander Walk*; *Captain Applejack* with Arthur Howard; Amy Hall in *Outward Bound*, a fine production of a fine play; *The Guardsman* with Emily Hale; *The Trial of Mary Dugan* with Charles Howard and Corlis Wilbur; Henry Newbegin in *The Barker*; Jean Goodale in *Stage Door*; *Our Town* with Irving Locke as the commentator; Elinor Hopkinson in *Papa Is All*; and Alec Robey in *Death Takes a Holiday*, and in *The Winslow Boy*. And don't forget the secretaries, those unsung heroes and heroines without whose constant labors the club could not have lasted sixty years. I hope the audiences got as much pleasure out of watching our plays as we did in

presenting them and as I have had going through the old records and programs.

The end was inevitable. In October 1950 the active committee rather reluctantly voted to discontinue activities. At the ripe old age of sixty the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club, one of the three oldest dramatic clubs in the country, quietly faded away.

LIST OF PLAYS BY SEASONS

1890-1891	Esmeralda
A Fool for Luck	Trial by Jury
My Lady's Jester	
The Open Gate <i>and</i>	1895-1896
Allow me, Madam	The Schoolmistress
Old Love Letters	The Sorcerer
<i>and</i> Tears	Gringoire
	The Ladies' Battle
1891-1892	
None so Deaf as Those Who Won't	1896-1897
Hear <i>and</i> Two Strings to Her	David Garrick
Bow	The Gondoliers
Les Petits Oiseaux	The Belle's Stratagem
Our Regiment	Man Proposes <i>and</i> Cicely's Cavalier
Courtship of Miles Standish <i>and</i>	
A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing	1897-1898
	The Shaugraun
1892-1893	Les Mousquetaires
Honor Bound <i>and</i> Second Thoughts	The Provoked Husband
Our Boys	A Night Off
Lady Bountiful	
Box and Cox <i>and</i> Faint Heart Never	1898-1899
Won Fair Lady	Engaged
	My Lord in Livery <i>and</i>
1893-1894	The Loan of a Lover
The Parvenu	Diplomacy
An Offering to Folly	Our Regiment
The Abbe Constantin	
A Slap in the Dark	1899-1900
	Rosedale
1894-1895	Dandy Dick
She Stoops To Conquer	The Lancers
On Guard	The Romancers

1900-1901

The Amazons
The Jilt
Nance Oldfield *and*
Office Hours 1 to 3
The Gray Mare

1901-1902

Trelawny of the Wells
The Rivals
The Spark *and* Lend Me
Five Shillings
Love on Crutches

1902-1903

Dan'l Druce
The Merry Wives of Winsor
(50th performance)
The Saffron Trunk
Nancy and Company

1903-1904

The Importance of Being Earnest
The Railroad of Love
The Romance of a Poor Young Man
Miss Hobbs

1904-1905

The Story of Bella
Liberty Hall
Jim, the Penman
Pensioner Scholler

1905-1906

Because She Loved Him So
The Passing Regiment

1906-1907

The Hobby Horse
The Tyranny of Tears
The Court of Love

1907-1908

The Heir at Law
Mollentrave on Women
At The White Horse Tavern

1908-1909

Miss Elizabeth's Prisoner
You Never Can Tell
My Lord in Livery *and*
The Land of Heart's Desire

1909-1910

Alice Sit-by-the-Fire
She Stoops to Conquer
(75th performance)
The Little Minister

1910-1911

Arms and the Man
The Admirable Crichton
The Professor's Love Story

1911-1912

The Second in Command
The Maneuvers of Jane
The Adventure of Lady Ursula

1912-1913

The House Next Door
Merely Mary Ann
The New Lady Bantock or Fanny
and the Servant Problem

1913-1914

Jack Straw
A Single Man
The Workhouse Ward *and* Between
the Soup and the Savory *and*
Press Cuttings

1914-1915

Her Husband's Wife
Green Stockings
The Gondoliers

1915-1916

The Importance of Being Earnest
The Perplexed Husband
The Man on the Box

1916-1917

Seven Days
Mrs. Temple's Telegram
Pomander Walk

1917-1918

Eliza Comes to Stay *and*
Joint Owners in Spain
Between the Lines

1918-1919

Officer 666
(100th performance)
What Every Woman Knows

1919-1920

The Black Feather
The Climax
Bunty Pulls the Strings

1920-1921

It Pays to Advertise
The Lucky One
Spreading the News

1921-1922

Seven Keys to Baldpate
The Red Feathers *and*
Magic
Tea for Three

1922-1923

Rollo's Wild Oat
The Duke of Killicrankie
The Successful Calamity

1923-1924

The Boomerang
Mr. Pim Passes By
Captain Applejack

1924-1925

The Torchbearers
Little Mary
East is West

1925-1926

Minick
The Thirteenth Chair
Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary

1926-1927

Fashion
Lilies of the Field
Sleeping Dogs
(125th performance)

1927-1928

White Wings
The Bride
You and I

1928-1929

The Dover Road
Hay Fever
The Mask and the Face

1929-1930

The Mystery Man
On Approval
Outward Bound

1930-1931

The Fourth Wall
The Guardsman
The Purple Mask

1931-1932

The Cat and the Canary
The First Year
Gold in the Hills

1932-1933

Bird in Hand
Love at Second Sight
The Climbers

1933-1934

The Trial of Mary Dugan
Tons of Money
The Barker

1934-1935

Berkeley Square
The Devil's Host
Silas, the Choreboy

1935-1936

The Yeoman of the Guard
(150th performance)
Payment Deferred
Petticoat Fever

1936-1937

The Misleading Lady
Whistling in the Dark
The Circle

1937-1938

The Crooked Billet
Her Master's Voice
Stage Door

1938-1939

Laburnam Grove
Call it a Day
Personal Appearance

1939-1940

Trelawney of the Wells
Three Men on a Horse
Our Town

1940-1941

Love From a Stranger
Accent on Youth
Tovarich

1941-1942

George Washington Slept Here
The First Mrs. Fraser
Return Engagement

1942-1943

Lady in Waiting
The Ghost Train
Theater

1943-1944

Ten Minute Alibi
Ring Around Elizabeth
(200th performance)

1944-1945

The Man Who Changed His Name
Death Takes a Holiday
The Constant Wife

1945-1946

Papa Is All
Claudia
The Lady Has a Heart

1946-1947

The Hasty Heart
Arsenic and Old Lace
No Time for Comedy

1947-1948

Dear Ruth
Blithe Spirit
State of The Union
(Last performance in Brattle Hall)

1948-1949

Dear Brutus
Miranda
The Winslow Boy

1949-1950

Pygmalion
Ladies in Retirement
Two Blind Mice

NATURAL HISTORY AT HARVARD COLLEGE, 1788-1842

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SCIENCE and its technological offspring so dominate today's scene that it is difficult to grasp how relatively young they are as parts of the college curriculum — excepting, of course, mathematics. Before the Revolution the only scientific subject taught at Harvard besides mathematics was natural philosophy, which consisted mainly of astronomy and physics. The Hollis Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, founded in 1727, was held for forty-one years in the mid-eighteenth century (1737-1779) by John Winthrop, Harvard's earliest productive scientist.

When, near the close of the Revolution, a medical school was started at Harvard, instruction in chemistry became as essential as anatomy and medicine. A course in *Materia Medica* formed a minor part of medical training: since the chief medicinal materials at that time were plants with real or reputed physiological effects, it was desirable for the doctor-in-training to learn to recognize such plants. Thus it came about that many of the early students of plants were physicians and that the first undergraduate instruction in botany was given by a member of the medical faculty. Botany, starting as the handmaid of medicine, eventually grew to the stature of a science. It did not at first usually form a separate course, but at most American colleges was coupled with zoology and sometimes also with geology and mineralogy, to make a course called natural history.

The Medical School of Pennsylvania and that of King's College (Columbia) were begun in colonial times, but the latter conferred no degrees and did not survive the Revolution. Although instruction in medicine at Harvard had been anticipated as early as President Dunster's day, the first move toward instrumenting this ambition was delayed until the time of President Willard. A detailed plan for the first of Harvard's graduate schools, "The Medical Institution of Harvard University," was approved by the Corporation in 1782. Within a few months a faculty of

three professors was appointed: Dr. John Warren, H. C. 1771, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery; Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846), whose medical degree was received at the University of Leyden in 1780, Professor of Theory and Practice of Physic; Dr. Aaron Dexter, H. C. 1766, Professor of Chemistry and *Materia Medica*. Holden Chapel, which the student body had outgrown, was modified to provide lecture space for the Medical School. The course was for three years with lectures starting each November and continuing for a period of fourteen weeks. The growth of the school at first was very slow; the first degrees in medicine, two in number, were not conferred until 1788, and for the first fifteen years the graduates averaged two and a third a year.

The Corporation felt financially able to start the Medical School, having received a bequest therefor from Dr. Ezekial Hersey, H. C. 1728, and his widow. In a few years a bequest from Dr. Abner Hersey, brother of Ezekial, permitted the establishment of the anatomy and physic Professorships as Hersey Professorships, and William Erving, H. C. 1753, who died in 1791, endowed the Erving Professorship of Chemistry and *Materia Medica*.

In the earliest years no salary seems to have been paid and although each professor received his students' fees there were few students. The situation probably presented no difficulties to Dr. Warren and Dr. Dexter, successfully established in private practice in Boston, but Dr. Waterhouse faced financial problems in moving from Rhode Island to Cambridge, a small village already supplied with the services of two physicians, Dr. William Gamage and Dr. Timothy L. Jennison. So it is hardly surprising that, having received no salary in three years, Dr. Waterhouse sent in his resignation on September 6, 1786. It was not accepted because the Corporation observed that he remained in Cambridge. About a year later they voted that the medical professors were to receive "a moiety of the income" — presumably of the Hersey Fund.

For Dr. Waterhouse an additional source of income was found. In the spring of 1788 the Corporation voted that Dr. Waterhouse was to deliver annually a course of lectures upon natural history, an elective for seniors who presented written parental permission and paid a guinea fee to the lecturer. At the same time a loan of £20 was voted to Waterhouse, evidently to pay for printing a synopsis of the course, for he was to repay the amount, with interest, from the sale of such a pamphlet.

This was not a new field to Dr. Waterhouse, as he had been appointed Professor of Natural History at Rhode Island College (Brown University) in 1784, and his name remained on the faculty list there into 1791. He evidently gave courses in natural history at least twice, the first series delivered in the state house at Providence. It has been claimed that this was the first course in natural history ever given in the United States. This activity of Dr. Waterhouse doubtless led to Professor Wigglesworth's suggestion that he be appointed to give a similar course to Harvard undergraduates.

The new talent available at the Medical School made feasible also the addition to the undergraduate curriculum of a course of lectures in chemistry by Dr. Dexter. Probably Dexter's most productive pupil was Parker Cleaveland, H. C. 1797, later Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Bowdoin College, who developed into a world-renowned mineralogist through the publication in 1816 of a sound and enlightened text on mineralogy and geology. Evidently Cleaveland did not take Waterhouse's course in natural history, for he once stated that when he went to Bowdoin he did not know that there was more than one kind of rock in the world. In 1820 when the Harvard Corporation was planning to add mineralogy to the college curriculum as a separate course, the position of instructor was offered to Cleaveland; after mulling over the matter for more than eight months he decided to remain at Bowdoin. It is not apparent that any of Waterhouse's pupils embraced any phase of natural history as a vocation or an avocation.

Dr. Waterhouse's course in natural history was offered annually for twenty-two consecutive years. The first course of twelve lectures, held in the autumn of 1788, was given gratis. The next year five seniors took the course, and by 1795 forty-one were enrolled. Since the graduating classes of this period occasionally numbered one or two less than thirty and only three times were above fifty, the number of elections was presumably gratifying. In 1805 Waterhouse attempted to increase the fee from a guinea to ten dollars but was balked by the Corporation. A pamphlet printed in 1810 by Hilliard & Metcalf outlines the content of the course in its final form of twenty-five lectures. The first lecture was introductory, the second discussed opinions concerning the creation of the world, the next four were about simple matter, "efficient cause," divisions of science, and the transfer of inert to organized matter. The

seventh through the tenth meetings were devoted to botany. Topics discussed were the parts of a seed plant, Linnaeus and his system of classification of plants, agriculture, and directions for forming a *Hortus siccus* (an herbarium). The next nine lectures covered the animal kingdom, the last three dealing with man. Four periods were allotted to geology and mineralogy. The last lectures were entitled: "On the Art of reading the Great Volume of Nature," "The French System de la Nature," and "Deity." Except for the mineralogical aspects and the finale the outline is not dissimilar to that of a biology course of the present day. Theodore Hornberger, writing in 1945 on *Scientific Thought in the American Colleges, 1638-1800*, found Waterhouse's work "remarkable for its broad, philosophical approach." The lectures were very popular. Being lively, full of anecdote and humor, and perhaps spiced with vituperative phrases, they were entertaining to the students. At least Sidney Willard, the president's son, found them so.

The course, however, was a source of perennial annoyance to Samuel Webber, the Hollis Professor of Natural Philosophy, whose philosophy chamber, well supplied with its own experimental apparatus, was invaded by stuffed birds, animals in preserving fluid, dried plants, the bulky mineral cabinet, and endless other paraphernalia of natural history. The college librarian, housed across the hallway, finally made a formal objection. To this Waterhouse entered a detailed written defense describing his perfect classroom etiquette: he was always the first in and last out of the room, turned the carpet up and never lectured in rainy weather, and used the room only eighteen hours during a year. In spite of his tale of exemplary care, Waterhouse was evicted from the philosophy chamber in 1800 "without a hearing." He lectured thereafter in Holden, the quarters assigned to the Medical School. This necessitated transferring the course from the autumn to the spring term, another grievance to the doctor, whose thrift was amazing. He calculated that the students were less inclined to add electives to their programs in the spring and that he was therefore out of pocket about 50 per cent by the change.

The repetition of a public lecture of Waterhouse was periodically requested by the students. (A public lecture was one open to all students of the University.) It was printed with one of those cumbersome titles which are characteristic of the leisurely past: "Cautions to young persons concerning health, in a public lecture delivered at the close of the medi-

cal course in the chapel at Cambridge, . . . containing the general doctrine of dyspepsia and chronic diseases; shewing the evil tendency of a use of tobacco upon young persons; most especially the pernicious effects of smoking cigars. With observation on the use of ardent and vinous spirits." It seems probable that the request for the lecture was one of those perennial undergraduate jokes a mere reference to which convulses the community. One would like to know what the students called this popular production. At least five editions of it were printed. Dr. Waterhouse sent copies "to most of the colleges in the Union" and to Dr. Benjamin Rush, John Adams, and other distinguished friends, who praised the lecture warmly. During the four academic years that Waterhouse was a medical student at the University of Leyden he lived with the family of John Adams, who was then minister at the Hague; the friendships formed then never waned.

Apart from the small unpleasantnesses rising from Dr. Waterhouse's persistence in holding his natural history class in the philosophy chamber until he was finally routed in 1800, his relations with the administration were equable. In 1793 the Corporation made financially possible his ultimate purchase of the old property on the north side of the Common which he already occupied. His six children were born there. The title passed into his hands early in 1809. The great success of his bold introduction in 1800 of Dr. Jenner's method of vaccination with cow-pox, using it on all members of his household, dramatically increased his prestige through the country. Some say that this master stroke rendered Waterhouse insufferable; he certainly was provocatively positive at all times, and inclined to be illiberal in his judgments. However, he always attributed the quarrels in which he became increasingly involved to resentment over his political convictions, very unwelcome in a community of Federalists.

Dr. Waterhouse recorded that he began collecting minerals in 1790, evidently to use to illustrate his lectures on natural history. He wrote of this activity to his friend Dr. John Coakley Lettsom in London, who encouraged the effort by sending over "a small box of minerals," which was followed by larger quantities of specimens and a donation of ten guineas for the promotion of natural history. Dr. Lettsom, born in the West Indies, was an enthusiastic admirer of the United States, which had "seen a Printer's boy become the political arbiter of Europe and America"

and "a planter rise to the head of the first empire in the world." He wrote to the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture in 1794:

I am truly happy to see a spirit of enquiry after manly and rational objects, so prevalent among you. By diversifying useful pursuits, the mind acquires increased energy, and gradually opens an infinity of new enjoyments and pleasures that improve and dignify character.

A group of polished marbles which Mr. Bowdoin was unwilling to give to the college was begged by Waterhouse for the cabinet. He solicited a collection of salts from England, and his uncle, Dr. Peter Oliver, donated fossils. "The old French Consul" in Boston, M. le Tombe, saw the collection of perhaps five hundred specimens at Waterhouse's house, and after he returned to France interested himself in having the Agency of Mines of the French Republic send minerals for the cabinet. The addition of these specimens in 1795 to those already amassed made the Harvard cabinet "the richest and most extensive collection of minerals in the United States." Waterhouse regarded himself as its creator and Dr. Lettsom as its greatest benefactor.

At this time the Corporation voted that Dr. Waterhouse be authorized and desired to take charge of the cabinet of minerals; that he arrange it and attend all persons who might wish to visit it. He was allowed a compensation of \$40 yearly as Keeper of the Cabinet.

Dissatisfaction over the performance of Waterhouse's duties arose twice — first in 1801 under President Willard, and again six years later when President Webber was in office. The earlier difficulty seemed to be in justifying the expense of his services as curator, for in his reply Waterhouse enumerated his time-consuming efforts in adding to the collection, and the many visitors who spent hours or all day examining the specimens. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale, studied the collection closely in 1797. It was indubitably growing, for by mid-1860 it contained 1600 specimens. Toward the end of that year President Webber and Judge Davis, appointed by the Corporation to investigate the care given to the cabinet, failed to find many of the specimens, noted that some lacked labels and that all of the specimens were not in arrangement. The last two complaints seem hardly avoidable in view of the youthfulness of mineralogy and Dr. Waterhouse's limited knowledge of a rapidly

expanding subject. On this occasion also it was discovered that one of the required letters of parental permission for the course in natural history was not on file.

In 1809 Waterhouse's services as custodian of the cabinet were dispensed with, and the ruling of 1788 that he was to deliver annually a course in natural history was rescinded. Both these steps were incidental to an enthusiastic effort to broaden and improve undergraduate instruction at Harvard and to bring the courses offered into line with trends of the times.

Early in 1805 subscriptions of \$31,333.33 had been secured under the auspices of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture to endow a professorship of natural history at Harvard and to create a botanic garden. The chief donors intended the appointment to go to the man whom they regarded as the most eminent in the field — William Dandridge Peck (1763–1822), H. C. 1782, who is credited as being the first American to make a formal contribution to systematic zoology. When Waterhouse, always alert to news and rumors, heard of the project he promptly addressed a "Memorial" to the Corporation setting forth his vested interest in the subject that he had been developing and fostering at Harvard for seventeen years. As the new professorship was in control of the donors, all that the Corporation could do was to accept it as outlined or refuse it, which was unthinkable. However, there was a reprieve for Waterhouse, in that Peck, sent to Europe in preparation for his new position, remained there for three years, returning too late in the spring of 1808 to take over the course in natural history. In 1809 the agile and experienced teacher got the jump on Peck by meeting the class as usual. Under the circumstances the best the Corporation could manage was to revoke their ruling of 1788 for the future. So for five years longer than he might have expected, Waterhouse continued to give his pet course, which yielded amenities for his family's comfort.

Events painful to Waterhouse marred 1810. In addition to the loss of his undergraduate course, his life was further upset by the moving of the lectures of the Medical School to Boston with the requirement that he reside there. However, the latter situation turned out to be not a prolonged trial, for on May 14, 1812, following a hearing, Waterhouse was dismissed from the Medical Faculty. He always claimed that he was "set adrift" because of his political faith — he was a militant Whig among

determined Federalists — but to the writer the fault seems rather to have been Waterhouse's complete lack of *esprit de corps*. He even assisted a group attempting to establish a competing medical school! In addition, he had a mischievous spirit — a daemon seemed to drive him to irritate others, especially associates, for the amusement it afforded him.

He lived at his "handsome seat" on the Common for thirty-four years after all connections with Harvard were severed — he stated that he was not allowed to consult the mineralogical cabinet nor the library — and here he busied himself happily with his correspondence and in his garden, going hither and yon, keeping up with events, never abashed, always eager. During part of this time he held a federal appointment as hospital surgeon of local military establishments, a sinecure bestowed on him by President Jefferson in recognition of the inestimable value of his introduction of vaccination and continued by President Madison.

He lived to be over ninety and, of course, was known to everyone in the village. Some of the gifted children who grew up there — James Russell Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and the Holmeses — recalled him as an entertaining citizen who made a sharp impression. Oliver Wendell Holmes described him as

. . . A brisk, dapper old gentleman, with hair tied in a ribbon behind and I think powdered, marching smartly about with his gold-headed cane, with a look of questioning sagacity, and an utterance of oracular gravity, — the good people of Cambridge listened to his learned talk when they were well, and sent for one of the other two doctors when they were sick.

The Visitors of the Massachusetts Professorship of Natural History were full of enthusiasm for the new foundation and greatly pleased by Peck's ultimate acceptance of the chair, for he had been loathe to leave the seclusion of his pleasant home on the Artichoke River in Newbury. He was widely known in New England for his paper on four new species of fishes, read to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1794, and for his pioneer work in entomology, especially for a paper on the Canker-Worm which won a gold medal in 1795 from the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. His ability and good sense inspired confidence, and his modest, amiable nature made everyone his friend. The Pecks were an old Boston family of shipbuilders, and Peck's mother was a Jackson. Peck suited the community to which he was called.

It is noteworthy as being characteristic of the period that Peck, like Parker Cleaveland, and like Thomas Nuttall, who was to succeed him, was completely self-taught in his chosen field. Peck's interest in animals and plants had a most unusual beginning in an imperfect copy of Linnaeus's *Systema Naturæ* which he found washed up at Kittery from a wrecked ship.

The establishment of the new professorship was the occasion for a realignment of subjects in the field of natural history. The Massachusetts Professor was to cover zoology and botany. Mineralogy, which involved chemical analysis, was now delegated to the Professor of Chemistry.

The visitors of the new professorship wanted Peck to go abroad for a year to study the botanic gardens of Europe, to find a gardener, and to get seeds, plants, books, and equipment. After the induction ceremonies Peck sailed promptly on the *Galen*, which carried also a son of Benjamin Vaughan, whose relatives in London immediately brought Peck into acquaintance with the leading naturalists of England — Sir Joseph Banks, Sir James Edward Smith, and William Jackson Hooker. Peck also carried a bundle of letters of introduction to important Europeans from cosmopolitan Bostonians. In Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and France he made warm friends of the same caliber as those he made in England. Because of illness his intended year extended to two, and then somehow or other ran on to three. Peck was receiving his salary of \$1200 annually and expenses, but this was a good investment in intangibles, because the impression Peck made on the scientists of Europe resulted in wide recognition of Harvard as a leading center of natural history in America — rather it would have been a good investment if the endowment had been greater.

After the plans for laying out the garden were formulated, and effected, William Carter, the Yorkshire gardener whom Peck engaged in England, superintended the routine work. A conservatory was built in 1810-11 at the same time the Garden House was built for Peck and his bride, Harriet Hilliard, daughter of Timothy Hilliard, Abiel Holmes's predecessor at the First Church. The architect and builder of both buildings was young Ithiel Town (1784-1844), later famous for his beautiful Greek Revival structures. What "artist" it was who designed and built the Garden House had been forgotten until the receipted bill was

recently discovered in the files of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. I am indebted to Mrs. Louise Emerson Carlisle for information concerning its existence. Heretofore Town's earliest known work was the "Center Church on the Green" at New Haven, which is dated 1812-14.

In 1818 at the request of the visitors Peck prepared a catalogue of the plants growing in the botanic garden. He also wrote several brief papers on the life-histories of insects which attack plants of economic importance such as oaks, locust, white pine, pear, and plum.

The course in natural history, an elective for upperclassmen, continued to be held in the spring. Peck had several students who later became important contributors to the field. We know that he taught Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, H. C. 1815, George Barrell Emerson, H. C. 1817, and William Oakes, H. C. 1820. It is more than likely that he had in his classes Francis Boott, H. C. 1810, Benjamin D. Greene, H. C. 1812, Ralph Waldo Emerson, H. C. 1821, and Charles Pickering, H. C. 1823, as well as many lesser future teachers or dabblers in natural science. Harris wrote to Thomas Say, who like himself was an early student of the insects, "Professor Peck taught me to define the species in Latin & I have generally adhered to his advice though it savours somewhat of pedantry." Contact with Peck's knowledge was keenly anticipated by freshman George B. Emerson, who was later to write *Trees of Massachusetts* for the State Geological Report. He recorded "The first visit I made, after being established in college, was to the Botanic Garden, to learn from Prof. Peck the names of the plants I had examined in Wells [Maine] for which I had found no name. He recognized them instantly from my description." Although Oakes did not live to write his *Flora of New England*, no name was so firmly associated with the plants of the region throughout the nineteenth century as his. Boott published a magnificent monograph on *Carex*, a highly technical genus of the sedges. Pickering, the best all-round American biologist of his generation, was naturalist of the Wilkes Expedition, but his modesty was so extreme that he has received inadequate recognition.

A signal event in Peck's life was his expedition up Mount Washington in 1804 with Dr. Manasseh Cutler, pastor at Hamilton, New England's earliest botanist. Twenty years before, in 1784, Dr. Cutler and Dr. Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, had organized the first

scientific ascent in the White Mountains. Cutler wanted to return, but for many years had been too occupied by his many duties as congressman and as a sponsor of the first settlement in the Ohio Territory. The party that made the 1784 ascent of the highest peak had reached the "Eastern Notch" on horseback; Peck and Cutler went as far as Lower Bartlett in the latter's chaise. Two "collegians" and a number of guides accompanied them up the mountain, following up Cutler River as did the earlier group. Other companions, including Nathaniel Bowditch, started the climb but turned back when they neared tree limit. On both ascents great care was taken to get readings for ascertaining the altitude of the summit. Peck got a fair collection of plants, although he always mourned some which he lost in descending a gully. Ten years later a German botanist, Frederick Pursh, who called on Peck at the garden, published the alpine species he had then been shown, naming one *Geum Peckii* for the collector. This beautiful little plant with large yellow flowers blossoms in late June and July in boggy spots on the Mount Washington range, where it was long considered to be endemic.

A rare fish which Peck described in 1794 was named by Dr. Storer about forty-five years later *Syngnathus Peckianus*, or Peck's Pipefish. Peck's most unique find, a minute insect parasitic on a wasp, determined by Kirby the great English entomologist as being the only species of a genus that is the only genus of its order, was named *Xenos Peckii*. A flowering plant of very limited distribution, an odd-looking fish, and a strange little insect perpetuate Peck's name as a naturalist.

Peck drew the illustrations for his papers with an artistic hand. He also had a mechanical flair and he built his own microscope. After suffering a stroke, he designed an invalid's wheelchair which he could propel — evidently a novelty, for it was exhibited after his death at the Boston Museum. Peck did not recover from his third stroke, which occurred late in the summer of 1822 when he was fifty-nine years old.

Some of Peck's friends suggested that his lectures be published, probably with the thought of assisting his widow financially, but the committee which examined the lectures reported that they did not seem of sufficient interest. A hundred years or so later Dr. Thomas Barbour collected all the facts he could find about Peck and the early garden with the idea of writing a biographical sketch, but the dearth of high adventure in the records caused him to drop the idea. He deposited the papers in

the Harvard Archives. Since then another would-be biographer, primarily interested in John Peck the ship architect, father of the naturalist, making an exhaustive search for material, accumulated a surprising amount of information concerning the family, which has also come to rest unused in the Archives.

After Peck's death it became very clear that the funds of the professorship had so decreased that they would not support a new incumbent. To preserve the garden the visitors decided to use the available funds for a curator who would be able to give lectures in natural history at the college. Such a person was found in Thomas Nuttall (1786-1859), at thirty-six years of age the first-ranking botanist in the United States and one with great interest in gardening. Nuttall was an Englishman who, after finishing an apprenticeship in his uncle's printing shop in Liverpool, washed his hands of commerce and prosperity in favor of the charms of the flora of the new world. This was a bitter disappointment to his uncle, who had been cherishing his own dreams — prompt retirement to enjoy his considerable wealth while Thomas took over some part of the management of the business. A compromise of some sort enabled Thomas to embark in 1808 for Philadelphia where, relying on his trade for support for the first two years, he quickly gained knowledge of local American plants. His industrious pursuit of botany won him opportunities to reach remote regions. In 1810 he was in the wilderness about Lakes Eric, Huron, and Michigan and the upper Mississippi River. In 1811 with the Astoria party he went 1600 miles up the Missouri River and spent the three summer months collecting there. In 1819 he was in imminent danger of leaving his bones on a tributary of the Arkansas River beyond army and trading posts. Before going to the Arkansas he had walked through large parts of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, northern and southern Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, had crossed the Appalachians in different areas; and had botanized on two occasions in North and South Carolina. His publication of the botanical observations he had made by the end of 1817, *Genera of North American Plants*, was the most important contribution of the period to American botany and gave Nuttall an international reputation. The unremitting industry attendant on this accomplishment is amazing, especially when one realized that at the time of the War of 1812 he was back in England for three and a half years. Such concentration of effort was characteristic of him.

Despite his scientific prestige Nuttall was poor. He lived precariously by selling seeds and plants to nurserymen in America and England and by giving courses of public lectures. (After the first two years in America he was not employed as a printer.) He was completely absorbed in his scientific interests — mineralogy and geology as well as botany. Although he was Spartan in his habits, the normal expenses of living were always with him. It must have been a financial relief to him to receive the regular salary of \$500 annually as curator of the garden and the \$100 allowed him by Harvard College for each course he gave in natural history. In addition he had the use of two rooms in the Garden House, a study on the ground floor and a bedroom above it, and he evidently received the students' fees for the course in botany which he offered.

When Nuttall took over his duties at Cambridge in March, 1823, he was full of enthusiasm and evidently found his contacts with impressionable and eager young minds stimulating. In the spring term he had large courses in both natural history, which at this time was largely zoology, and in botany. During the spring vacation he took some students from South Carolina on a botanizing tour, during which they evidently climbed Mounts Monadnock and Ascutney. Shortly before commencement he went on a very successful prospecting trip for minerals in Worcester County with a young freshman, George Putnam. But routine and the confined circle of his daily round, as well as personal problems, soon reduced his high spirits and he seemed to lose some of his first enthusiasm for teaching the young.

The teaching must have become a considerable burden. As the recitation system was still used at Harvard, the course in natural history supposedly consisted of quizzing the students on textbook assignments. A textbook written by a Scot, William Smellie's *Philosophy of Natural History*, was then universally used at the academies and colleges in the United States. The students called the course simply "Smellie." However, Nuttall, who had had dramatic views of the unique fauna of the western plains — villages of prairie-dogs; herds of thousands of buffalo, caribou, and antelopes; grizzlies, rattlers, eagles, and trumpeter swans — and who had acquaintance with milder animals in the southwest, doubtless alleviated the dullness of recitations by tall tales, or small ones, of animals unknown to Smellie. He would not have been a conventional teacher.

The course in botany presented no challenge, because Nuttall had been giving public courses in botany for some years and must have had a synopsis well worked out. In 1827 he published a botanical textbook for the use of his students and a second, revised edition in 1830. A calf-bound copy with hand-colored plates which Nuttall presented to John Lowell, who with Peter Chardon Brooks and himself formed the Garden Committee, is now in Houghton Library. It bears Amy Lowell's bookplate.

Some recent writers have stated that Nuttall exhibited marked shyness, especially in the lecture room, picturing him as an extreme eccentric. There seem to have been no such contemporary views in Cambridge or Harvard. Even the students did not consider him singular except in his achievements. The seed from which the current extravagant stories of Nuttall's shyness have grown was probably sown by Asa Gray. When he took over the Garden House as his residence in 1844, he wrote to John Torrey:

. . . Mr. Nuttall . . . left some curious traces behind him. He was very shy of intercourse with his fellows, and having for his study the southeast room, and the one above for his bedroom, put in a trap-door in the floor of an upper connecting closet, and so by a ladder could pass between his rooms without the chance of being met in the passage or on the stairs. A flap hinged and buttoned in the door between the lower closet and the kitchen allowed his meals to be sent in on a tray without the chance of his being seen. A window he cut down into an outer door, and with a small gate in the board fence surrounding the garden, of which he alone had the key, he could pass in and out safe from encountering any human being.

The simple structural changes in the house had been made twenty years before, not for the reason Gray put forward but because the erstwhile pleasant domicile was being used as a boarding house. Even the Board of Visitors became entangled with one aggressive boarder. As Nuttall was a prodigious worker and usually absorbed in study, his need of protection from the forward, pretentious, and garrulous was readily appreciated by the Board of Visitors, who authorized the small expense involved. Gray evidently knew nothing of the circumstances and his hasty interpretation has had unfortunate results. Nuttall was aloof and taciturn when confronted with those whom he did not like, he was naturally modest and reserved, even retiring, but there is no evidence that he was

genuinely shy. He himself believed that he was "very unhappy without society."

He quickly became acquainted with and favorably known to his colleagues and to the naturalists of the region: Jacob Bigelow, Benjamin D. Greene, George B. Emerson, and William Oakes, botanists; Thaddeus William Harris and Nicholas M. Hentz, entomologists; John White Webster, Francis Alger, and Charles T. Jackson, mineralogists. He also made some good friends among the students and the townspeople. Charles Pickering, a senior when Nuttall arrived at Harvard and a student in the Medical School during the next three years, became a lifelong friend. Joseph E. Worcester, the lexicographer, found Nuttall companionable and a gratifying source of information concerning the West. Nuttall was evidently a favorite of Elizabeth Craigie, a nature enthusiast who loved plants, subscribed for Audubon's Folio Edition of *The Birds of America*, had a fine collection of shells which she left to Harvard College, and maintained an astonishing tolerance of insects, freely allowing them to defoliate annually her magnificent elms. At the sale of her personal property young Edward Tuckerman purchased a large oil painting of Nuttall done at her commission, which he presented later to the Gray Herbarium. It still hangs there, and near it stands a bust of Nuttall constructed from a life mask. The bust was presumably made by Susan Austin who, living with her mother at the Cooper-Austin House, was one of Nuttall's neighbors and evidently a good friend. The bust was discovered in the coach-house about 1918 and was secured for the Herbarium by its devoted librarian, Mary Day. Both painting and bust show a sensitive face marked by firmness.

Nuttall was on good terms with his nearest neighbor, Job Wyeth, whose farm lay to the north of the garden; they discussed agricultural matters. The horticulturists of the area — Hovey of Cambridge, Winthrop of Brighton, and Kendrick of Newton — enjoyed his acquaintance. Hovey followed his later hybridizing work with rhododendrons with great interest. Nuttall's best friend in Cambridge was James Brown, clerk in the University Bookstore of William Hilliard, and later partner of Charles C. Little in the publishing firm of Little, Brown and Company. James Brown, Charles Pickering, and George Barrell Emerson visited Nuttall in England at Nutgrove, the country estate in Lancashire left to him by his uncle, where he spent his last years. His acquaintance through-

out the Boston region was enlarged through his membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Boston Society of Natural History.

During his first year at Harvard he clashed with Dr. John White Webster, then a practicing physician in Boston. They both sought the lectureship in mineralogy which became vacant; Nuttall negotiated for it openly with Webster's encouragement, although Webster was secretly working to obtain it for himself. When Nuttall discovered the situation he wrote to a friend:

Who would have thought that my *seeming* friend Dr. Webster would have moved so far out of the honourable track as to endeavour to snatch from me this little additional employment and emolument, yet nothing is more certain than the fact of his endeavours to serve me, after all my confidence in him — this unexpected '*ill-turn*.'

He felt strongly that Webster's position was unpardonable, but within a year or so he contributed a series of papers to a journal of which Webster was an editor and owner.

At the garden he continuously made every effort to increase the number of species growing out of doors and in the greenhouse, and he published a few short botanical papers. Any comprehensive taxonomic work was impossible because an adequate botanical library and herbarium were not available in Cambridge. He probably had not anticipated the lack of these necessary tools and became dissatisfied under the handicaps of his situation. James Brown, who sympathized with his frustrations, suggested that he write a handbook of the American birds, moderately priced, something which had not been done. This was an interesting and stimulating undertaking which absorbed him for some years. The necessary observations were challenging and took him to enjoyable spots new to him. Numerous captive pets also instructed and entertained him during the years his attention centered on the birds. The finished work of two volumes was an important contribution to ornithology, useful for over seventy years. An enlarged edition was prepared in 1840 when Nuttall came to Boston to give the third series of Lowell Institute Lectures. The Nuttall Ornithological Club of Cambridge, the first such organization in the United States, was named in his honor forty years after his text was published.

Nuttall, consciously or subconsciously, was dedicated to the expansion

of knowledge — to finding and describing unknown species of plants that grew abundantly beyond the frontiers, and incidentally to collecting new minerals, fossils, Mollusca, Crustacea, insects, fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals for other specialists to study and name. It was he, to use a more or less local illustration, who collected the first specimen of the now famous White Mountain Butterfly, which perhaps lives within the most circumscribed area of any butterfly. He had remarkably keen powers of observation of both eye and ear which peculiarly fitted him for the work that insistently claimed him.

Nuttall grew increasingly restive and complained that he was accomplishing nothing for science and was only vegetating in Cambridge. To keep him at Harvard, the Corporation made special concessions of leaves of absence during the winter months when the garden was dormant. Thus he was able to make a 1200 mile pedestrian tour through South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and West Florida and see species of birds and plants he had not before met with in the wild, to prospect for minerals and fossils on the North Carolina coast, to go to the Azores, and to make three trips to England, where he kept informed concerning the exotic plants pouring in from all parts of the Empire, and secured suitable ones for the garden. This was all gratifying, but the gleanings were not abundant enough to satisfy a man who had collected hundreds of new species on the Missouri and in the Arkansas Territory and who knew that there must be thousands more in the unbotanized areas of the West.

Finally the crowning opportunity of his life came through a Cantabrigian — the chance to botanize across the country to the Pacific at latitudes never visited by a botanist. He did not hesitate to resign his post at Harvard and join Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth's 1834 expedition over the Oregon Trail to the mouth of the Columbia River. This was before the time of pioneering settlers; only fur-trappers, traders, and Indians roamed the area with the buffalo and the grizzlies. From the Columbia he visited the Sandwich Islands twice and before his return to the Atlantic Coast he visited the ports of California. Richard Henry Dana in *Two Years before the Mast* graphically described the appearance of his "old professor" as he collected shells on the beach at San Diego in 1836. Dana and Nuttall returned around the Horn in the *Alert*, Nuttall with bales of thousands of rare specimens of the three kingdoms.

After Nuttall left Harvard, William Carter the gardener was given

full charge of the garden. The course in natural history was usually given by the college Librarian, Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, an able entomologist well equipped for the work. Harris was paid for each course as Nuttall had been. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, H. C. 1841, wrote of Harris: "I was fortunate enough to be among his pupils. There were exercises twice a week, which included recitations in Smellie's *Philosophy of Natural History*, with occasional elucidations and familiar lectures by Dr. Harris. There were also special lectures on Botany." He goes on to say that this was a voluntary lecture course with no marks for attendance, no demerits for absence, and thus, to a merely ambitious student, a waste of time so far as college rank was concerned.

Meantime prospects for natural history at Harvard were looking up. The will of Dr. Joshua Fisher of Beverly, probated in May, 1833, gave Harvard College \$20,000, the income to be used for a professorship in natural history or any of its fields. With this gift the Corporation planned to again maintain a professor. About the end of 1834 the Fisher Professorship of Natural History was offered to Dr. Francis Boott, a Bostonian who had chosen self-exile in England. He carried on a medical practice in London and was an excellent botanist by avocation and officer of the Linnaean Society. As he was excessively sensitive and conscientious, the proposition he received from his alma mater filled him with horror. He wrote to Sir William Jackson Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, long his confidant: "The professorship at Harvard was far too complicated . . . I was required to give Lectures in all the branches of Science in the An[imal] veg[etable] and mineral Kingdoms—to abandon Physic and preside over the destinies of Horticulture . . . I did not hesitate therefore to reject the proposal. There are no modern books of Science—no museum and no funds to buy with, my life would have been one of hopeless anxiety." Through these negotiations the Corporation learned that "natural history" in a few decades had become too cramping a framework for the knowledge which was mushrooming in both botany and zoology, that one man could no longer successfully spread his efforts over such an extent of knowledge. Natural history was outgrown. When Asa Gray accepted the Fisher Professorship of Natural History in 1842, he undertook botanical work only. The development of a Zoological Department awaited the advent of Louis Agassiz.

THE REVEREND JOSE GLOVER AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE PRESS

By JOHN A. HARRER

Read May 24, 1960

THE most famous antiquarian sale of books America has known was held in the year 1879. None other has equaled it in the eighty years that have passed since then. The great collection of books, on display for the occasion of the sale in the auction rooms of Messrs. George A. Leavitt & Co., New York, and gathered through the lifetime of a collector's experience, had been the property of Mr. George Brinley of Hartford, Connecticut. A printed catalogue listing and describing each book could be purchased in advance. A few of these had been printed on special high grade paper. The catalogue itself, expanded with subsequent sales, continues to be of importance to collectors. On page 95 of Part I those who attended found two copies of one book described. The first sold for \$150.00 and is now safely lodged in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The second was purchased for the Congregational Library at a price of \$50.00 and, since the book, *A Platform of Church Discipline*, is the basic authority for Congregational church government, it is more appropriately at home in its location than any other of the nine copies in existence.

This book is not just one of the rare books of early days. It is a fundamental colonial document. At the time of its three-hundredth anniversary Dr. Henry Wilder Foote wrote concerning its origin, contents, and meaning as they relate both to religion and to American history. His final point shows the *Platform* to be "the seed-bed from which those doctrines had sprouted" leading to the Revolution. And for free church government it is the carefully prepared statement produced by learned and determined men who had tested their beliefs with Biblical teachings and were convinced that God had guided them. During three hundred years there have been thirty-five editions.

We can thus understand that of all the books that came from the Cambridge press this one is among the few to be regarded as most precious. That it is the cornerstone of American Congregationalism has

led me to a study of the Cambridge press and its origin. As a result I soon found myself in the middle of Massachusetts colonial affairs during the era in which the first settlers were establishing themselves, building churches, schools, and government. Most characters in the story soon became real people. There were those who originated ideas to foster the press. Others wrote the books, sermons, and pamphlets printed by it.

A Ph.D. dissertation on the history of the Cambridge press by Dr. Lawrence G. Starkey is comprehensive and detailed. It is the most recent of a number of studies dealing with this theme. Anyone who wishes to see the true picture will also read the earlier writers, some of whom are listed in our short bibliography. The single most important book is that of George Parker Winship, former Harvard librarian, whose narrative of the press can be read rapidly. Students will do well to place the volume within easy reach to reread its detailed sections.

One section of Winship's book relating to the *Platform of Church Discipline* caught my attention. I thought I might have found a mistake in the story of its printing. After examining the original, and after writing to libraries and individuals who have copies of the *Platform*, my suspicions were confirmed. A little later, however, I came upon Dr. Starkey's article in *Studies in Bibliography*, "The Printing by the Cambridge Press of A Platform of Church Discipline, 1649." My interest in having discovered Winship's error was dampened. Starkey's study had already demonstrated the same facts. I was about to give up when I came upon a note of correction in a later copy of the same periodical stating that Dr. Starkey had also arrived at a wrong conclusion in regard to one phase of the printing. So I resumed my efforts, expanding the original plan to include additional categories. The bibliographical details do not need to be repeated; the reader may consult the article. However, one section of this present paper supplements what is there explained. A number of the points are here described in nontechnical language. To the title of this paper we might well have prefixed the words, "Footnote to the story of." A slightly different slant is given to Matthew Day's last work and the taking over of the press by Samuel Green. The indication of the present location of the nine copies of the Cambridge *Platform*, and the fact that each owner can find his *Platform* within one of four variant states, will also have an interest for some.

The reason for "Reverend Jose Glover" in the title of this paper is

to draw attention to a more or less forgotten name, and to recognize him as the founder. There is no card for his name in the catalogue of many libraries where one might expect to find it. In 1810 Isaiah Thomas said of him, "Although he was one of the best, and firmest friends to New-england, his name has not been handed down to us with so much publicity as were those of other distinguished characters, who were his contemporaries." This continues to be true. None but antiquarians would recognize his name today. Having read a number of accounts which give the biographical facts concerning Jose Glover, I have told the story in as free a style as I could manage. Others have quoted from Governor Winthrop and Hugh Peter and from several other available contemporary writings, all of which are brief. Most of the facts about the Glover family I obtained from Winship and from Isaiah Thomas. A search in Sutton, Surrey, and in the libraries of England would no doubt yield additional material and provide data for a biography.

Printing in the United States dates back to early colonial days. Boston was settled in 1630. The year 1638 brought the printing press to Cambridge fifty years in advance of its appearance in any other colonial settlement. New York's first press began operation in 1693, Philadelphia's in 1685. The General Court of the Bay Colony permitted the establishment of no other press within its jurisdiction for nearly forty years. Marmaduke Johnson moved his press from Cambridge to Boston in 1674. Having, therefore, a monopoly during more than half of its life span, the Cambridge press was in business from 1638 to 1692. Every item printed then has become a rarity, a valued possession of any individual collector or library. Such early examples of the printing craft are sometimes called American incunabula, that is, the babyhood of American printing. Of three thousand who sailed for New England in the summer of 1638 one man, a Puritan clergyman, was interested in printing and had done something about it. New York, despite its early founding, long remained without a press. This could have been true for Massachusetts. The initial printing enterprise might have been delayed for decades. This is the reason Mr. Glover deserves the highest credit. Since he is the prime figure of all personalities we shall meet in our narrative, it is desirable to become acquainted with him and his family.

II

In the year 1624 Rev. Jose Glover came to his first church in the village of Sutton in Surrey, about fifteen miles south of London. Shortly before this he had married Miss Sarah Owfield, who brought with her a generous dowry. The young clergyman, himself from a very prosperous family, was the son who had chosen the church for his portion in life. His father was generous, providing him with ample resources. The free parsonage, the stipend, and their own fortunes allowed the couple to furnish their house with every comfort. If they could not have a washing machine they did have servants who achieved equally good results. No doubt a coach and horses carried the young parson on his pastoral rounds and him and his wife to social engagements. One of the main commercial enterprises of his father and brothers was shipping. Their argosies returned with profits as a result of successful trading in the West Indies. Later, when the largest number of Puritans crossed the Atlantic to New England, the Glover ships transported many people and their goods.

Despite the favorable beginnings of the marriage, which in due time brought three children to the couple, the story is punctuated with tragedy. Young Mrs. Glover died after only four years of life in the Sutton parsonage. Before long Glover became acquainted with and married Miss Elizabeth Harris, the daughter of a near-by clergyman. She brought with her no money, but she filled her new position within the busy household in a most creditable manner. Another son and another daughter resulted from this marriage. Father and mother, two boys, and three girls, with several servants, now made up the menage. The family might have lived happily ever after in their pleasant abode if Mr. Glover had not been a Puritan. Acquainted with the Winthrops, a connection of Roger Williams, his thoughts turned more and more toward New England. Transportation was no problem. When the time came he embarked in a Glover sailing vessel. His Puritanism was, possibly, not of the most vigorous type. Sabbath observance, however, had become an issue. The Puritans were determined. The purity of the church was at stake. A little slower than some of his brother ministers to raise points of disagreement with the established church, the Sutton clergyman now took his stand. He refused to obey instructions to read the Book of Sports in the church service.

Some years before, the King had signed a Declaration to allow pleasurable recreation on Sunday afternoon. This regulation which was called the Book of Sports, was required to be read from the pulpit. It might have been set aside and forgotten because of Puritan opposition. But Bishop Laud had come into power. Here were means at hand for him to carry out his purposes to separate sheep from goats, the nonconformist Puritans from those who were obedient to the Church of England. He engaged in vigorous and successful persecution, searching out, in their hiding places, all enemies of the church. He found many. Rev. Jose Glover was forced to give up his charge in the year 1636. His social position and the prominence of his family, no doubt, protected him. He was not harried out of the land. Preparations for departure were made without haste. No difficulty arose when the time came to leave England.

The years from 1630 to 1640 were the period of the Great Migration, beginning and ending quite abruptly. Nearly twenty thousand settlers came from old to New England, entering Boston harbor to settle in Salem, Rowley, Cambridge, Boston, Dorchester, and Dedham. Of all these thousands only one man, Rev. Jose Glover, had an idea different from any one else, namely to bring a printing press. He sailed in 1638. The little ship was made ready in the Thames at London in mid-summer. Mr. Glover, his wife, and five children were on board. So were furniture, linen, silver, clothing, horses, coach, wagon, men servants, maid servants, and some cattle. Stowed away in the hold were the printing press, type, many reams of paper, type cases, ink, and printers' tools. Not one necessary item was omitted. As the waters of the high tide began to flow, the boat moved along the estuary into the deep ocean.

Two or three years had passed since Glover had decided to cross the Atlantic to New England. His active mind had mapped out a future that demonstrated his resourcefulness and his realization of two areas of growth in the new world to which he expected to give most of his attention, the college and the printing enterprise. He might become president of the one and owner of the other. The ministry was his calling. Unfolding events would determine whether teaching or preaching or both would receive chief emphasis. He had already invested quite substantially in New England real estate, which would also require a portion of his time. Finally, church people in England for some years had felt a compulsion to save the souls of American Indians. Every one of these fields of endeavor was upon his mind as he speculated on the variety of possi-

bilities for the employment of his printing press. He probably did not anticipate that a Psalm Book would be its first production. He did not know that the language of the Indians would make demands on his press beyond anything else. Sermons, college theses, commencement programs, text books, laws of the colony, new polity for churches — these he was ready to print, and he may have anticipated all of these needs.

In midocean Glover contracted a fatal illness. It was probably smallpox. Since Puritan clergymen saw all happenings in the language of the Bible, it is not unlikely that, thinking of Moses, he besought the Lord that he might be spared to go into the Promised Land, and feared also the answer, "Thou shalt not pass over this Jordan." He was buried at sea. With forethought he had prepared for others to care for his printing press and to give the new enterprise its start. They did not fail him.

The small boat with his wife and children sailed on and at last glided slowly into Massachusetts Bay. Watchers from the shore had sighted an unusual number of sails that year. As the "John of London" gently advanced through the waters of the bay, five Glover children gazed toward the shore. Which one would be first to see an Indian? As they stood in a row lined up by age, fifteen, thirteen, eleven, seven, and five, it was to be noted that the youngest and oldest were boys. Two of the three girls later married Adam and Dean Winthrop, sons of the Governor.

The little vessel sailed on past the Boston wharf to Charlestown where the horses were taken from their cramped quarters, harnessed, and hitched to the coach which carried the family along five miles of flat roadway to Cambridge. The mansion house of Governor Haynes had already been purchased. Fireplaces were soon ablaze and the chill of fall air was driven out. The children ran through the empty rooms, looked out of the windows, still hoping for the first Indian. They saw other buildings on their land as they stood looking from the back windows. Some have thought the printing press was first established in one of these structures. There seems little doubt, however, that the Day home was the first location.

III

Before leaving England Mr. Glover and Steven Day, with the latter's son, had entered into an agreement which has been studied and described so many times that we here state only that the father, a versatile crafts-

man, worked at and supervised the assembling and setting up of the printing press in its new home. Steven Day also continued as proprietor of the enterprise for a few years. Since Matthew Day, the son, had more business ability than his father, he no doubt was soon guiding affairs on the spot. Mrs. Glover purchased a house for the Day family in Crooked Street, now Holyoke Street. It is probable that the press was placed in one of the rooms of this house, where it remained for five years (1638-1643). The Bay Psalm Book, the first book to be printed, had its origin at this first location, and for its part of Mr. Glover's supply of paper was used. The press was then moved to the newly erected president's house in the Harvard yard just inside the gate opposite the Unitarian Church, where it remained from 1643 to 1655. Here the laws of the colony were printed in 1648, and the Cambridge *Platform* in 1649. The final location of the press was the first floor of the Indian College on a rise of ground, now somewhat leveled off, approximately where Houghton Library now stands.

The ship which brought Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard, arrived in 1640. An eligible bachelor, he soon met and married Mrs. Glover. They lived in the Glover home only two years before she died, leaving in his care five children, the affairs of the estate, and the proprietorship of the printing press. Mr. Dunster soon married again, which necessitated the winding up of the estate to protect the inheritance of the children. A house was then built for Harvard's president in the college yard, and, as indicated, the printing press was placed in one of its rooms. The press now became an appurtenance of the college, its ownership somewhat confused, although Matthew Day managed it under Mr. Dunster's direction. This arrangement continued until Matthew Day died at the age of thirty, in the year 1649. While our present interests do not reach beyond this date, it is well to state that events of the year 1655 brought a new president to Harvard and the removal of the press to the Indian College, where it continued to operate until 1692, a span of thirty-seven years.

IV

Since our subject is that of a publishing establishment, we shall examine the actual printing of one of the most remarkable books of the press, the Cambridge *Platform*. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries any copy of the Cambridge *Platform*, 1649, has been an object to be coveted. Only a few collectors were fortunate enough to secure one. Early, possibly in the middle of the nineteenth century, two variant states were recognized within the edition of approximately 500, the difference due to changes in the title page after perhaps one hundred copies had been printed. No satisfactory study of the composition and press-work was attempted until George Parker Winship's remarkable book in 1945 provided a comprehensive history of the Cambridge press. In it he drew attention to an error on page 9 of the Preface, the significance of which rested on the fact that this page was printed on the same sheet with the title page. As already noted, Dr. Lawrence G. Starkey's article corrected errors in Winship's presentation, though he himself was mistaken in regard to one operation of the printing, his theory concerning cut-sheet printing being changed in a later note of correction.¹ The article, with its correction note, is the only scholarly, bibliographical study of the printing of the Cambridge *Platform* and should be read by all students interested in this theme.

The General Court of Massachusetts had invited the churches of New England to meet in September, 1646, to discuss and clear up questions of church government and discipline which they judged agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. At this Synod Richard Mather, John Cotton, and Ralph Partridge were appointed, each to write his own report for presentation at the Synod on June 8 a year later. Because of an epidemic of illness this second Synod adjourned after ten days of discussion to meet in the late summer of 1648. When at last messengers and clergy met, only two weeks were needed to study and compare the three documents. That of Richard Mather was chosen. John Cotton provided a preface, which was probably one section lifted from his manuscript. The manuscript of the platform prepared by Ralph Partridge of Duxbury has been preserved along with that of Richard Mather. Both are in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. The plan presented by John Cotton has been lost.

Printing of the small book was completed about a year later. Approved by the Synod in the late summer of 1648, it came from the press in the late summer of 1649. Winship states, "Widespread public interest would have urged speedy publication." What then could have delayed its

¹ *Studies in Bibliography*, IV, 235.

printing an entire year? There are several answers. An accurate, readable copy had to be made for the printer. The editorial tasks may not have been taken care of promptly. Finally, the printer, Matthew Day, became ill and died May 10, 1649. His illness was, quite likely, the culminating reason why publication was held up. Whatever the causes of delay its printing needed to be completed before the meeting of the General Court in the fall of 1649. The statement on the title page can be accepted at its face value. The printing was finished "The Eight Moneth Anno 1649." This date has also been considered a mistake that should have read 1648, the date when the document was completed and approved by the Synod.

Only one product of the press, the almanac for 1647, has the name Matthew Day in an imprint. Either he was very modest and slow to assert his rights or Mr. Dunster may have interfered. As printer in charge of the press for twelve years, Day certainly looked forward to the printing of the important *Platform of Church Discipline*. He had just completed *The Book of the General Laws*, 1648. Since there were months of time following the completion of this official assignment of the General Court, it is very likely that he promptly began the work of preparation of the *Platform*, which was also the concern of the lawmaking body. There can be little doubt, it seems to me, that he designed and composed the title page and started his plans for the book itself. Williston Walker² plainly sets forth the time of printing, showing that the book had been completed and was presented to the General Court in October.

Curiously, those who have described the book differ in their opinions, some considering it poorly printed, or the title page too crowded. Others declare it remarkably well done, too nicely arranged for a novice such as Samuel Green. To me the title page, at least, is something of a work of art. That there is reason to declare Matthew Day to be its compositor rests on three facts. The first is that he could hardly have failed to turn over in his mind exactly what he would do to attain the best possible result. He knew that it would be examined immediately by clergy and lawmakers. The title page offered the best chance to display his skill. The second fact is the practice of preparing the title page first. By some who have examined the printing of this book it is taken for granted that the title page of this particular book was prepared and printed last.

² *Creeds and Platforms*, 186.

Winship³ states it was "the last to go to press." This differs from the following by Charles Evans⁴: "the practice customary with the early printers, of printing the title page first."

In the case of books with no preface or preliminary introductory material, the title page would normally be printed first as part of the initial gathering. In this book, however, there is a preface, and its signatures are differentiated from the main body of the *Platform*. It is always assumed that in such a case the title page was printed last. Even though the title page was printed last, however, I think it had been composed by Matthew Day and left standing. Accustomed to prepare the title page first for some books, Day would have found this one of such importance as to excite his interest and encourage him to design the title page early.

The third point is this. George Parker Winship interpreted the action of the General Court taken in the fall of 1649 to mean that the book was printed subsequent to that meeting. Since there is very little doubt that this is a mistaken conclusion and that the printed *Platform* was in the hands of its members at this time and was then simply recommended to the churches, the date of printing is moved back a considerable space of time and the start of its composition almost certainly reaches back several months. It is my theory that the book was planned and partly composed by Matthew Day. Errors which remained uncorrected were due to his illness which put an end to all work. Nevertheless, preparatory efforts were soon turned over to Samuel Green. However, much of the work had been done before he took over, the book was now his. He was now proprietor of the press, a position he held for forty-three years.

Antiquarians, of course, make mention of the *Platform* as Samuel Green's first book. But it is well established that he took over because of an emergency and so found himself in the middle of whatever items of work were in process, whether nearly completed, half finished, or just started. The likelihood is that the *Platform* had been given a good start and may have been half way along.

We are not here attempting to ascribe the *Platform* to Matthew Day as his last book. The meticulous, almost errorless work on the Laws was his final monument. But we are setting forth a fairly obvious theory that

³ *The Cambridge Press*, 113.

⁴ *American Bibliography*, I, 210.

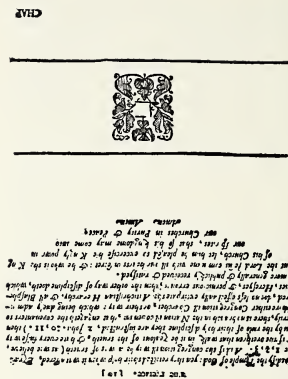
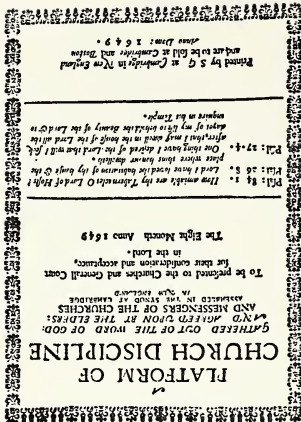


FIGURE 2. These pages represent a sheet which was among the second fifty sheets perfected, or backed up. All remaining sheets were also perfected as shown here. These pages are as in the Huntington, Scheide, and Virginia copies.

he designed the Cambridge *Platform* and composed some of it. Littlefield states, "He literally died in harness." Eight pounds were due him for printing, part of which was probably for the hours spent at the work we have just described. It is thus a reasonable theory that Samuel Green was the fortunate inheritor of a well-composed title page plus additional pages to launch him in his first effort, the printing of the Cambridge *Platform*.

V

The newly appointed printer, Samuel Green, having had no experience in his new trade, was at once confronted with the work of producing a small book that involved some problems not easily solved by a novice. The *Platform* itself required four gatherings of eight pages each. The Preface was too long to be contained within one such gathering. An additional fold containing four pages was therefore placed on the outside of the eight pages to result in a twelve-page gathering. The finished book thus was made up of one twelve and four eights, or forty-four pages in all. Consider now the additional fold mentioned above, the first page of which was the title page. The second is its verso, which is blank. The third and fourth are pages 9 and 10 of the Preface. The title page and its verso are not numbered, hence the paging which follows is from 1 to 10, making twelve pages in all.

Samuel Green figured and refigured as to just what his method of printing was to be. Our problem is to determine what he actually did. The eight-page gatherings of the *Platform* itself had been quite simple. In each case four pages were printed on white sheets. Then the pile was turned over and four more were printed on the reverse side. The sheet was then folded twice to form an eight-page gathering. But, the question is, how did he print the four outside pages of the twelve-page Preface? He may have cut sheets of paper in half and printed two pages on one side, turned the pile over, and printed the other side, requiring five hundred impressions for each side. Or, he may have printed all four pages on one side (250 impressions), turned the pile over and printed the same four pages on the other side, after which the sheets were cut in half. This latter is called half-sheet imposition, and it was the method employed by Samuel Green. Figure 1 shows the imposition of the first side, Figure 2 of the second side.

As was noted earlier, nine copies of *A Platform of Church Discipline* are known to exist today. These represent, by slight differences, four stages in the printing of the four-page fold comprising title page and pages 9 and 10. The differences or variants may be described briefly.

State 1. About 50 sheets were printed on the first side before any alterations were made in the type.

State 2. The lower border is straightened (only to become out of alignment again in the next two states). In "Psal: 84 1" the period after "84" has dropped out. About 50 sheets were printed thus.

State 3. The "G" in "Gathered" (line 3 from the top) has been changed to a "swash" G. In the center of the page, "Eight" appears without its final *b*. In the first line of Bible quotations, "Tabernacles" replaces "Tabernacle." "Printed by S.G. at Cambridge in New England" replaces "Printed at Cambridge by S.G. in New England." On page 9, "in" is corrected from "im". About 150 impressions were made thus before the sheets were turned over; about 50 additional impressions were then made before one final alteration.

State 4. On page 9, "contribute" was corrected from "cntrbute."

The present ownership of the nine known existing copies and the states which they represent are as follows:

STATE 1

John Carter Brown Library

STATE 2

Mr. Thomas W. Streeter

STATE 3

Henry E. Huntington Library

Mr. William H. Scheide

University of Virginia Library

STATE 4

American Antiquarian Society

William L. Clements Library

Congregational Library

New York Public Library

Anyone who has seen the book has been apt to inquire about other

Page 10

"im"

Page 9
"contribute"

Page 10

"im"

Page 9
"contribute"

PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE

GATHERED OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD
AND AGALED UPON BY THE ELDERS:
AND MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES
ASSEMBLED IN THE SYNOD AT CAMBRIDGE
IN THE YEAR 1649

To be presented to the Churches and General Court
for their consideration and acceptance,
in the Lord.

The Eighth Month Anno 1649

- Psalm: 24. 1. How amiable are thy Tabernacle O Lord of Hosts?
Psalm: 26. 8. Lord I have loved the habitation of thy house & the
place where thou hast dwelt.
Psalm: 27. 4. One thing have I desired of the Lord that will I seek
after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the
days of my life: behold the beauty of the Lord & re-
quire in his Temple.

Printed at Cambridge by S. G. in New England
and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston
Anno Domini: 1649.

PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE

GATHERED OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD
AND AGALED UPON BY THE ELDERS:
AND MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES
ASSEMBLED IN THE SYNOD AT CAMBRIDGE
IN THE YEAR 1649

To be presented to the Churches and General Court
for their consideration and acceptance,
in the Lord.

The Eighth Month Anno 1649

- Psalm: 24. 1. How amiable are thy Tabernacle O Lord of Hosts?
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quire in his Temple.

Printed at Cambridge by S. G. in New England
and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston
Anno Domini: 1649.

FIGURE 3. Distinguishing marks of the first and second states of the Platform.

copies, how many there are, where they are located, what happened to them during three hundred years. Book collectors have a nice word for this, provenance. Most of the nine copies had found their way to England. Henry Stevens, the London book dealer, was the instrument by which they were returned to America. Copies on this side of the Atlantic experienced steady usage and were discarded in favor of new editions. Whatever other causes of disappearance of the five hundred originally printed only these few are left until another is rescued from some unexpected lodging place. The following paragraphs tell the story of each one with as complete data as we have discovered.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY COPY

Owned by Isaiah Thomas this copy has his bookplate on a blank page facing the title page. "I. Mather" was inscribed on the title page by Increase Mather. There is little doubt but that Isaiah Thomas purchased the *Platform* "in 1814 when he acquired what he termed the remains of the old library of the Mathers which had belonged to Drs. Increase and Samuel Mather." (Cannon p. 55) This copy has been removed from a pamphlet volume and is kept in a protecting case. It is about as near to original condition as one might hope to find. The binding edge contains the usual evidences of the pamphlet volume from which it was taken. The paper, tanned by age, seems rougher and thicker than that of other copies examined. One page has a small hole which takes away parts of a few words, the sole blemish. The margins are wide. Quite possibly it is in its original state, the pamphlets possibly having been bound without trimming. There is a probability that this was the the author's copy and that Increase Mather received it as an inheritance from his father, Richard Mather.

JOHN CARTER BROWN COPY

This copy was purchased in the year 1846 and was among the first group of books acquired from Henry Stevens of London, having earlier been in the Henri Ternaux-Compans collection. Since it is not listed in the Ternaux catalogue of 1837, it was thus quite probably acquired by him subsequent to that date. More than likely it was among

Page 10

"in"

Page 9
"contribute"

PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE

GATHERED OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD:
AND AGREED UPON BY THE ELDERS:
AND MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES
ASSEMBLED IN THE SYNOD AT CAMBRIDGE
IN NEW ENGLAND

To be presented to the Churches and Generall Court
for their consideration and acceptance,
in the Lord.

The Eight Month Anno 1649

- Ps[al]: 84 1. *How amiable are thy Tabernacles O Lord of Hosts?*
Ps[al]: 26 8. *Lord I have loved the habitation of thy house & the
place where thou hast our dwellings.*
Ps[al]: 27 4. *One thing have I desired of the Lord that will I seek
after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the
days of my life: so I will abide the beauty of the Lord & so
enquire in his Temple.*

Printed by S G. at Cambridge in New England
and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston
Anno Dom: 1649.

Page 10

"in"

Page 9
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PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE

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enquire in his Temple.*

Printed by S G. at Cambridge in New England
and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston
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FIGURE 4. Distinguishing marks of the third and fourth states of the Platform.

the books sold in 1844 when a large part of the Henri Ternaux library was bought by Obadiah Rich, who then sold the books to Henry Stevens. The title page has been trimmed to the ornamental border and mounted. Because of the imprint and other factors described elsewhere this copy is one of two having title pages that differ from the other seven. The book has marble end leaves, the bookplate and autograph of John Carter Brown. The binding is of dark tan calf on the spine of which is printed, "Platform of Church Discipline. Camb. N.E. 1649." On the front and back cover is a gold stamped ram's head crest under which are the two initials "H.T.," a description that fits many other volumes of the Ternaux library.

WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY COPY

"Small quarto; elegantly bound in grossgrained green levant morocco superextra, gilt back and edges, paneled, ornamented sides, inside gilt borders, by W. Pratt. A beautiful copy of the first edition with wide margins." "Laid in is an attachment warrant in the autograph of Samuel Green, with his signature dated March 7, 1664." These quotations have been taken from the Brayton Ives sale catalogue of 1891. The attachment warrant containing Samuel Green's signature is no longer with this copy. It is now in the possession of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter. Provenance dates back to the Brinley sale in 1879, when the book was sold to Mr. Brayton Ives for \$155. Twelve years later it was purchased by Sumner Hollingsworth who paid \$210. Later the Hollingsworth collection became the property of Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston. The next sale did not occur until 1927, when Thomas W. Streeter purchased it for \$7500. In 1933 it was sold to Lathrop C. Harper and then to Tracy W. McGregor, who presented it to Clements Library in September, 1938. This final sale was for \$11,500. In these changes of ownership two developments are to be noted, the increase in values in the twentieth century and the realization of the historic importance of the Cambridge *Platform*.

CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY COPY

Dr. Isaac Langworthy, Librarian of the Congregational Library, purchased this copy at the Brinley sale. It is bound in red levant morocco,

full gilt back, sides filleted, and inside borders. Some repairs were made with great skill, particularly to the title page. The edges have been trimmed, narrowing the margins. It is the second of the two Brinley copies. Since *A Platform of Church Discipline* is the fundamental document of Congregational polity, it is regarded as the most precious possession in the collection of the Congregational Library. The marbled end leaves are of a predominantly red color harmonizing with the cover. Stamped in the lower inside border is the binder's mark "Bound by W. Pratt for H. Stevens, 1860," which was just one hundred years ago. This indicates that several copies had passed through the hands of Henry Stevens. John Carter Brown and James Lenox were given opportunity to buy from him before others. Brinley also had an agreement with Stevens. Since in 1860 both Brown and Lenox possessed copies, there is little doubt but that Brinley obtained this copy from Stevens. The inside cover has a small blue label reading "Brinley. 734." Laid in on the first binder's page verso also is a printed bibliographical description taken from a Dodd, Mead and Company catalogue of April, 1908, advertising a similar copy of the *Platform* for \$1000. This refers, probably, to the Scheide copy. A binder's page at the back has a notation in ink "cost Cong'l Library \$52.50 Mch 20/79."

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY COPY

This book came to the Huntington Library in the famous sale of the entire E. D. Church collection. It was bound by F. Bedford in blue crushed levant morocco, and is an immaculate copy. It has the Church ex libris, number 491. The paper is smooth and fairly thin, probably washed at the time of binding. The paper of signature D is slightly heavier. The inking was not well applied for some pages, but all are quite readable; for most the printing is remarkably sharp. Two small holes in the last leaf have been mended. The name "Wh. Kennett" is written on the title page at the right side of the center. This is, no doubt, the signature of Bishop White Kennett (1660-1728). Except for the copy of the American Antiquarian Society this one has an older history of ownership than any other. While a succession of owners is missing in our data, it is probable that a London bookseller obtained it from the Kennett collection and sold it to Mr. Church. The *Dictionary of*

National Biography states, "In order to advance the interests of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Kennett made a collection of books, charts, maps, and documents, with the intention of composing a 'History of the Propagation of Christianity in the English-American Colonies,' and on the relinquishment of that project he presented his collections to the corporation, and printed a catalogue entitled 'Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia,' London, 1713." In the Kennett catalogue the *Platform* is listed on page 97. In the Church catalogue the abbreviation "Wh." for "White" is mistakenly transcribed as "Ioh."

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY COPY

Bound in levant green morocco the cover is plain with a simple gold border, the binding by F. Bedford for H. Stevens. The inside cover has the small Lenox Library bookplate, the book having been one of the collection of Mr. James Lenox. The paper of the *Platform* is characteristically smooth and fairly thin. As it was run through the press the type was well inked so that this copy is darker and more clearly printed than any other examined. The leaves are in mint condition as if the book had never been used. It is strange, therefore, that the last leaf containing the "Contents" is lacking, replaced, however, with a positive photostat from the JCB copy. The binder's blank page opposite the inside front cover has a notation entered by Mr. Lenox referring to the 1846 prospectus for Obadiah Rich's unpublished catalogue *Bibliotheca Americana Vetus*, which lists a copy of the Cambridge *Platform*. While he does not state that he purchased it, there is no doubt that the Lenox copy was obtained in London from Henry Stevens, who had many dealings with Obadiah Rich. In his annotated copy of Henri Ternaux's *Bibliothèque Americaine*, 1873, there is a pasted-in slip of paper in the handwriting of Mr. Lenox giving a bibliographical description of the Cambridge *Platform* and containing an additional mention of an Obadiah Rich copy.

WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE COPY

This copy is located in the Scheide Library, Princeton, New Jersey. The binding is probably early or middle nineteenth century, being half

calf with marbled paper boards, the spine tooled in gold "A PLATFORM OF CHURCH DICIPLINE (sic) (N.E.) 1649." Of the leaves of the book there are some with brown stains on the upper part of the outer margins, but the pages are in clean, crisp condition. The paper is smooth and thin, having a watermark similar to No. 471 in Churchill *Watermarks in Paper*. It is a perfect copy. It is to be noted that this is one of two copies owned by individuals. Mr. Scheide's father, John Hinsdale Scheide, purchased it in 1911 from Dodd and Livingston for \$900. There is also a pencil notation in the upper right hand corner of the title page: "Sharp Coll: 42" and above that, in ink in an early hand: "Elk: Wales from Rich: Jackson of (—)." The last word has been torn away. At the time of purchase Mr. Livingston stated that the copy had come from the John Boyd Thacher collection. The book plate discloses another owner, Edward Hailstone. The succession of ownership, therefore, would seem to have been Richard Jackson, Elkanah Wales, Sharp, Hailstone, Thacher, Dodd and Livingston, J. H. Scheide, W. H. Scheide. The Hailstone purchase was made in 1891 from Sotheby's for £21.

THOMAS W. STREETER COPY

Bound in very dark green crushed levant morocco the cover is handsomely tooled with a gold border design at the four corners. Centered within the ornate corner decorations is the title and imprint in plain gold lettering. The paper on which the *Platform* is printed is fairly smooth and quite thin, as is true of most copies. In aging it has become slightly tanned in color. Less ink was used as the pages of this copy were printed, so that the appearance is a little lighter in color than is true of some other copies. The edges of leaves, slightly serrated, indicate that it has had some use during its active lifetime. The copy is perfect, lacking no words or parts of pages. The Streeter copy is unique. It has usually been mentioned with that of John Carter Brown, since the title pages are nearly identical and different from the other seven. It is like the JCB copy with these differences. The lower border is straight and parallel with the upper border, where as the JCB lower border slants upward. The period after "Psal: 84" is missing, having apparently been pulled out when the border was tightened. The word "contribute,"

page 9, is correctly spelled, whereas the JCB copy has it incorrectly spelled. The Streeter and JCB copies have an imprint different from the other copies. It reads "Printed at *Cambridge* by *S G* in *New England*. Because of this these two copies have usually been characterized as, "first issue." Listed in the Mrs. L. D. Alexander sale catalogue of February, 1913, Anderson Galleries, this copy was sold to Mr. Theodore Newton Vail for \$3,425 and sold again May, 1922, to W. D. Breaker for \$5,700. At the same galleries in April, 1937, it was purchased by Lathrop C. Harper who sold it to Thomas W. Streeter after the sale. Mr Harper paid \$3,500. Mr. Streeter does not recall the inconsiderable additional amount he paid to Mr. Harper.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA COPY

Since the author of the *Platform* was Richard Mather it is of interest that a descendant, William Gwinn Mather, became a collector of all Mather books and succeeded so well in his project that he gathered the largest of the twenty great collections of Increase Mather books, 85 in number, and third largest of Cotton Mather, 247, as shown in the Thomas W. Holmes bibliography. This copy is usually listed as the Mather-McGregor or McG-WGM copy. The first record of ownership in our search was the S. L. M. Barlow sale, February, 1890. No. 438, \$215. The description given was, "Quarto half Russia." When sold later, *Book Prices Current* listed it, "Hf. cf. (Barlow) Feb. 6, '20 (51) \$6750." This would appear to be the Mather purchase. The Mather Collection was then sold to T. W. McGregor, who presented it to the University of Virginia.

Which copy is the finest? Collectors of rare books set great store by "firsts" or "unique" copies. It will be seen at once that the Brown copy has the title page that was first to go through the press, and it is a unique copy. None other is exactly the same. The Streeter copy has the identical imprint and is a unique copy. (See Figure 3 on page 101 above.) But it is also true that the Huntington, Scheide, and Virginia copies, printed on the other half of the same sheet (the other two pages of the form) could have been printed as early in the operation as the Brown copy. Indeed these three could have been the first three sheets through

the press and, when backed up, the first three perfected, and the Brown copy could have been the 50th sheet printed and the 50th perfected. So far as first through the press is concerned, these three copies have every right to be considered as firsts (unless it is necessary to consider only title pages). On the other hand both the Brown and the Streeter copies may have been printed and perfected before they were. Furthermore, the other four copies have a distinction. All corrections we have noted had been made. They are in the category of being the best of Samuel Green's product. They were as he wanted all to be. And he must have given some of these sheets to his binder saying, "We want to deliver a few bound copies as quickly as possible to Reverend Richard Mather and Reverend John Cotton, the authors, and to the members of the Synod and to the General Court." Finally, however, we shall have to say that antiquarians enjoy deviations and emphasize unique characteristics. The Brown and Streeter copies, therefore, are more to their liking. The American Antiquarian Society copy could also be chosen for first place. It is nearest to the original state, unbound, perhaps untrimmed, and it has the signature of the author's son.

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THE EVOLUTION OF CAMBRIDGE HEIGHTS

By LAURA DUDLEY SAUNDERSON

Read October 25, 1960

THE background of my earliest recollections is the very neighborhood which has been my home since I was less than five years old, and I have seen it change from a semi-rural community to a busy city.

The first settlers in Cambridge built their homes between what is now Harvard Square and the Charles River, but the boundaries of Cambridge extended far to the north, and ways were opened to give access to them. So there was the "Highway to Menotomy," later called "North Avenue." In 1894 the name was changed to "Massachusetts Avenue." There was the "Highway to Fresh Pond" and the "Highway to the Great Swamp," both starting with Garden Street and extending in a northerly direction. Early maps show a few buildings on these highways at a distance from the center of the town.

Linnaean Street lies at the foot of a hill. When the Cooper-Frost-Austin house, the oldest house in Cambridge, was built in 1657, facing south, as was customary in the early days, there was no street there. The house was at the northern end of the Cow Common, of which all that remains today is our Cambridge Common. Later a way was opened and called "Love Lane." A street was laid out in 1724 and named "Linnaean Street" for the botanist Linnaeus, because the Botanic Garden was located at the corner of that street and Garden Street. The latter was so named because of the garden.

When I was a child there were only a few houses on Linnaean Street. On the north side of the street were the house still standing on the corner of Raymond Street, greatly changed in appearance from the house as I knew it first, the three houses from the corner of Avon Hill Street, the Cooper-Frost-Austin house, and one other on that side of the street, facing the street. Then there was one on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue, facing the Avenue. This last, by the way, was the home of David Ellis, whose daughter, Mary Ellis, was very actively interested in the Avon Home, and whose son, Harry Ellis, had a group of boys go to his house in the evening when he taught them to use tools. This instruc-

tion led, I believe, to the founding of the Manual Training School, now the Rindge Technical School.

On the south side of Linnaean Street was the house still standing on the corner of Garden Street, a house where the Peabody School playground was, the house now called Gray Gables on the corner of Gray Street, the two houses on the southwest corner of Bowdoin Street, and two like them on the corner of Avon Street, where an apartment house now stands. The Potter house, now on the corner of Potter Park, stood farther back from the road, facing Massachusetts Avenue, with a fine lawn in front. The house on the corner of Garden Street is now the property of Radcliffe College. It is one of the college's cooperative houses; twenty-six girls live there.

The Peabody School, with the date 1882 over the door, was built on the corner of Linnaean Street and Avon Street on what had been a vacant lot. It was named in honor of Dr. Andrew Preston Peabody, well known and dearly loved by all Cambridge people. He was very much interested in the school, often visited it, and was known by all the children. Last summer the building was torn down, and a new building is being constructed to take its place. In addition to the ground occupied by the old building and playground, the new structure, with accompanying playground, will cover two houselots on Avon Street and two on Walker Street.

Linnaean Street, once a quiet country road, is now a busy thoroughfare. With cars parked on both sides of the street, and cars dashing by in both directions, crossing the street is something of a hazard, and one is indeed fortunate if that crossing comes when children are going to school or going home, for then small boys, properly equipped to show their authority, direct traffic, and enable not only the children but other pedestrians to cross in safety.

Avon Street, running south from Linnaean Street, was laid out in 1845. I have been unable to learn what lover of the English bard named the street for his river. The reason for the name Avon Hill is obvious, for it is practically an extension of Avon Street and runs up the hill. It was formerly called Jarvis Court, and is said to have been named Avon Hill by the surveyor, Mr. Mason, who laid it out. Avon Place, off of Avon Hill Street, was often referred to in my childhood as "the court." The name Avon Hill is attractive and appropriate, but too many Avons have

sometimes caused difficulty. All went well when all mail was delivered from the post office in Harvard Square, but when a post office was opened in North Cambridge and Linnaean Street was made the dividing line, trouble began. Those living north of Linnaean Street were not known at the Harvard Square office, and if a writer omitted the "Hill" from the street name, the mail went to the Harvard Square office and might or might not reach the person to whom it was addressed.

A most amusing case occurred years ago when I was at the Fogg Museum. A student, visiting Mrs. Kingsley Porter in Ireland, wrote me a letter on stationery bearing her Ireland address. It was addressed to me at the Fogg Museum. I was away on vacation. The one who usually took charge of the mail was away also, and his substitute forwarded the letter to me, omitting the "Hill" from the address. I was not known on Avon Street, so the letter was returned to the address in Ireland. In the meantime Mrs. Porter had returned to Cambridge and the letter was forwarded to Cambridge with her mail. She forwarded it to me, using the correct address, and I received it with my Christmas mail after it had crossed the Atlantic Ocean three times.

On the east side of Avon Hill Street were the three houses still standing from the corner of Linnaean Street, including the one on the corner, facing Linnaean Street, the one on the further corner of Avon Place, formerly the Avon Home, a double house further up the street, and a small house still further up, which was moved. On the other side of the street there was not a building. A field occupied the whole area bounded by Linnaean, Avon Hill, Raymond Street, and extending to the north boundary of the house-lots on the north side of Bates Street, with the exception of the estate on the corner of Linnaean Street and Raymond Street. This land was controlled by Charles W. Cook, but cared for by Mr. Ewell, who lived on the corner of Linnaean Street and Avon Hill, so to us children it was "Ewell's field." In the spring it was gay with dandelions; later the blue and pink flowers of the chicory made it a veritable flower garden. A group of apple trees was opposite my home. In the spring, when the leaves unrolled, the place was a paradise for birds, and warblers frequented the orchard. Every year a pair of kingbirds built a nest in the top of one of the trees, and when the young ones were old enough to add their voices to the unmusical notes of their parents, it was noisy indeed. There was a hole in another tree which the screech-owls

appropriated. I shall never forget a row of baby owls lined up on a telegraph wire. One night my mother, startled by an unfamiliar sound very close at hand, called and wakened me, and asked, with much concern, "What's that?" It was only a screech-owl just outside her window.

Beyond this large field was a smaller one where a tennis court had been laid out. Here the children of the neighborhood learned to play tennis. Beyond, a fenced-in area, we learned by looking through cracks and knot-holes in the high board fence, was a vegetable garden, owned by Mr. Withey, which he often visited. His open wagon was drawn by a horse with a peculiar gait which we recognized as far as we could hear it. For years there were no buildings on the west side of Avon Hill Street.

On the other side of the street, at the very top of the hill, was a sand-bank which had particular attraction for us children. In the summer we dug huge holes which we called our houses. In the spring water gathered there and we named it "Pollywog Pond," for it was there that we went for pollywogs, which we kept in glass jars, watching them turn into little frogs.

Avon Hill Street came to an end about where Bellevue Avenue crosses the street now, and a flagpole was erected there. A fence across the street prevented teams from going further, but when pedestrians had occasion to go beyond, they climbed some fences and crawled under others, as we always did on our way to Fresh Pond, where skating was allowed, or to Artificial Pond, on the opposite side of Concord Avenue, known to us as "Arti."

Avon Hill Street was a great coast in those days and attracted children from far and near. The best coasting was usually about Washington's birthday. Then it was the fathers got out with the children to enjoy the sport. There were sleds, but the double-runners, made of two sleds with a board connecting them, was the favorite because it accommodated a number of persons and on account of that weight went the furthest.

The fastest double-runner on the coast was the "Molly Stark," belonging to Will Stark, a neighbor of mine. It was beautifully made with graceful lines, the handiwork of his father, who was a very skillful craftsman. I was a passenger when it made its record run. Starting at the very top of the hill, we coasted the whole length of Avon Hill Street, crossed Linnaean Street, continued the length of Avon Street, turned the corner on Shepard Street, and came to a stop only when we had nearly reached

what is now Walker Street. Every year the children carried a petition to every householder on the street for his or her approval of coasting on the street. One family was not in favor and placed ashes across the street, which the children removed promptly. It is needless to say there had never been any children in that household. In those days a policeman was stationed at the crossing of Linnaean Street to stop traffic when coasters were coming. As far as I know there was never a serious accident on that coast. With the streets cleared for automobiles there is little chance for such sport today.

That the street offers opportunity for coasting even in summer has been discovered by a group of boys. By attaching a board to two pairs of wheels, with a pole or rope to pull by, and a board or old chair-back as a back-rest, a boy has a conveyance which will carry him down the hill with no effort on his part. In spite of cars parked on both sides of the street, and cars going in both directions, some half-dozen boys are often seen enjoying the coast.

In the course of years houses were built on all the lots on the east side of Avon Hill Street, and on the west side above the present Bates Street.

Bates Street, laid out from Avon Hill Street, starting north of Avon Place, to Raymond Street, was accepted by the city in 1887, and named for a former owner by Charles W. Cook. This opened up a large tract of land. In spite of "for sale" signs, those aspiring to make their homes there discovered that building lots could not be purchased. In the course of time two houses were built on the north side of the street, but they remained vacant. Mr. Cook was frequently seen sitting on the porch of one. Both of these houses were finally sold. Mr. Cook disappeared from a Bangor boat on August 12, 1916. The whole tract of land was then offered for sale. The first building to be erected was the easterly section of the apartment house on the corner of Linnaean Street and Avon Hill Street. Then other lots were sold, and houses were built until every lot was occupied by a home.

Running east from Avon Hill Street, part way up the hill, is Hill-side Avenue, formerly called Foxcroft Street. This was originally called Paper Street. In a letter to the city engineer, Mr. Hastings, dated December 25, 1902, Mr. Frank Foxcroft, who lived on the north side of the street, wrote, "There is a tradition, I believe, that the original owner of the abutting land, having been unfortunate in some speculations, sought

to commemorate that fact in the name of the street. This name 'Foxcroft Street' was bestowed on it, not in my honor, but in that of my ancestors, Judge Francis Foxcroft, father and son. . . . I found it inconvenient to try to pronounce the name twice over — once being more than many were equal to — and I got the signature of the abutters to a petition asking the city fathers to call it Hillside Street. They went me one better — if I know what that means — and called it Hillside Avenue, which is perhaps unnecessarily imposing for so short a thoroughfare."

In my childhood there were only two houses on the north side of the street, facing the street. On the other side was a field extending from Avon Hill Street to the Austin estate. In the corner was a group of pines which are still standing. They furnished exercise for us children. We called them our "houses." My "house" still stands in the very corner. In those days the shops where we could trade most conveniently were near the Cambridge railroad station. Our short cut was over the hill, and one day, as I came to that corner, I saw an unfamiliar bird in my tree. It was a cardinal, the first I had ever seen, but it was unmistakable.

When I first knew Raymond Street there were few houses on the street. There was the one in the Botanic Garden, occupied by the man in charge of the garden, the Dresser estate beyond, and on the other side of the street the house opposite the end of Huron Avenue, occupied for many years by Dr. Edmund H. Stevens, well known and dearly beloved by so many Cambridge people. Further up the street was the home of the surveyor Mr. Mason. Later, other houses were built on the west side and at the top of the hill. When Gray Gardens East was laid out in the Dresser estate and houses were built there, many families were able to enjoy that very pleasant and attractive neighborhood. The greatest change came when streets were laid out in the Botanic Garden, often called "Gray's Garden," because years ago Professor Asa Gray lived in the house which was moved from the garden, across Garden Street, and which now stands on the corner of Madison Street. This house stood where the brick building, the Harvard University Press, now stands and faced Linnaean Street. The Botanic Garden gave great pleasure, not only to botanists, but to lovers and students of nature. Since trees, shrubs, and plants were labeled, we knew just what we were seeing. In the spring the lover of birds often met congenial friends there in the early morning, for the great variety of growing things offered food for cater-

pillars and bugs of various kinds, and the lily pond, which furnished water, attracted birds on their migration north. Long before the starlings had become as numerous as they are today I had a splendid opportunity to study the characteristics of the species. A group of starlings took possession of a woodpecker's hole in a tree overhanging the lily pond. English sparrows aspired to appropriate it, but the starlings would not be ousted, and the English sparrows discovered that they had found a real competitor in the bird world. The land sloped toward Linnaean Street, and at the foot of a banking near Raymond Street water collected in winter after a thaw and, when it froze, furnished a perfectly safe place for children to skate. It was there that I first learned to skate. Raymond Street was named by Mr. Mason in honor of Zebina L. Raymond, a mayor of Cambridge.

Austin's field, as it was familiarly known, offered attractions. This belonged to Mrs. Sarah Austin, who lived in the Cooper-Frost-Austin house on Linnaean Street, now the property of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. I remember Mrs. Austin, who was a picturesque figure in her hoopskirt, red shawl, and little black bonnet. She married the Reverend Reuben Siders, but instead of taking his name, required him to take hers. He became Reverend Richard Thomas Austin. I am told that the Austins used to entertain visiting Unitarian ministers. One who knew the house intimately said, "It must have been awfully hot and uncomfortable for those ministers in the little rooms under the roof."

Mrs. Holden, and her son, Dr. Austin Holden, lived with Mrs. Austin, and continued to live in the house years after Mrs. Austin's death.

The field extended from Linnaean Street to Hillside Avenue, and from the rear of the houselots in Avon Place and the field at the north to about what is now Agassiz Street. A neighbor pastured his cows there, and they sometimes interfered with the childrens' plans. There was one, a Jersey, with a crumpled horn that we were careful to avoid. A high board fence on Linnaean Street was not as perfect a barrier as one might suppose, for, if one knew how to do it, it was not difficult for even a small girl to climb that fence. There was an orchard at that end of the field, and the trees provided amusement and exercise for a group of children. A depression, about where Washington Avenue now is, we called "the valley." In the winter, when there had been snow, then rain, then a freeze, the valley offered a popular coasting place. Earlier in the winter

a steeper part of the hill, west of the valley, was our coast. This part was attractive after a big thaw, because the water ran down in streams. Wearing my rubber boots, I spent one whole forenoon wading in the water and slush, making dams and directing streams. This next few days I spent in bed. I wondered how my mother could be so calm and untroubled when wild creatures were rushing about. The doctor said I was threatened with rheumatic fever.

Flowers grew in the field in great profusion; buttercups and daisies made it a veritable flower garden in early summer.

Mrs. Austin had a man, Freeman Tuttle, working on the place. He was no friend of the children, who called him "Screamman Turtle." There were times when we were particularly afraid of him. At the time of his death there was an obituary in one of the papers in which he was described as a "landscape gardener."

After Mrs. Austin's death the property went to a group of heirs who were not near relatives. Then it was that Washington Avenue, which up to that time extended from Upland Road, then called Lambert Avenue, to Hillside Avenue, was continued down the hill to Linnaean Street, and Lancaster Street, at first Lancaster Avenue, was continued up the hill to meet Washington Avenue. That part which had run down the hill to Linnaean Street was renamed Humboldt Street. Austin's field was cut up into house-lots. The first house to be built was on the southeast corner of Washington Avenue and Lancaster Street. Then Henry D. Yerxa built on the opposite corner facing Lancaster Street. Stillman Kelley built on the northwest corner of Washington Avenue and Hillside Avenue, facing Washington Avenue, James Mellen on Washington Avenue south of Mr. Kelley. Later, David A. Ritchie built on the east side of the street, and John Brown on the west; an apartment house was built on the west corner of Washington Avenue and Linnaean Street. Finally an apartment house was built on the opposite corner. For some years this last corner lot was vacant, and Mrs. Holden very kindly allowed my brother and me to use it for a tennis court. We and our friends spent many happy hours there.

The part of Washington Avenue between Hillside Avenue and Upland Road has seen some changes. New houses have been built on the Niles estate and on the northern slope of the hill, but many of the houses have seen little change.

When the Brooks estate on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Lancaster Street, including land toward the west, was cut up and houses were built there, our open spaces in the neighborhood were gone.

With the development of the Dresser estate and the building in the Botanic Garden, Garden Street has seen the same kind of change that came to Raymond Street, but in addition Gray Gardens West was laid out in that part of the Dresser estate west of Garden Street. Other houses were built on both sides of the street and in Garden Terrace just beyond the grounds of the Harvard Observatory. At the present time the "Space Science Building" is in the process of construction on the Observatory grounds.

The latest building created on Concord Avenue is St. Peter's High School in connection with St. Peter's church and its attendant buildings.

Old maps show that there were some houses on both sides of those streets in early days, but it was only in later years that the streets were so completely built up. With the opening of many new streets on the north slope of the hill during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a great many new houses were built, many to accommodate two or more families. Such an increase in population called for shops, so that now families living in that neighborhood can be supplied with many of the chief necessities of life without going far from home.

Massachusetts Avenue, from which Linnaean, Lancaster, Arlington, and Mt. Vernon Streets, and Upland Road start, looks very different from the street I knew in my childhood. Then there were some vacant lots, and the houses were mostly large and dignified houses, with well-kept lawns, the street shaded by stately elms. More than sixty years ago my father told my mother that she would live to see the Avenue lined with little stores. His prophecy has certainly been fulfilled, but in addition there are great apartment houses, and we have lost the trees.

Mt. Vernon Street, running west up the hill from Massachusetts Avenue, and turning north to Upland Road, appears on maps of the 1860's. There still remain some of the earlier houses built there, but many are of a later date, and the parking lots on both corners of the street and Massachusetts Avenue make it practically unrecognizable to one who knew it years ago.

Arlington Street, running up the hill from Massachusetts Avenue to Washington Avenue, in proportion to its length, has, within my memory,

changed less than any other street in the neighborhood. It was originally called Chapel Street, because of the Holmes Chapel which was at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue. This wooden building was moved down the Avenue, became the Methodist Church, and was replaced later by the present Epworth Church. The name Arlington is said to have been given to the street by Mr. Mason because of the nearness of the street to Mt. Vernon Street. With the exception of the apartment houses on the corners of the street and Massachusetts Avenue, and some major changes between Walnut Avenue and Massachusetts Avenue, the only changes have been minor ones, as the addition of porches. But the street looks very different from the one I knew as a child, for the trees which were then but small, giving little shade, are now great shade trees.

Walnut Avenue, between Arlington Street and Upland Road, has received some additional houses, but the character of the street has changed but little.

Between Arlington Street and Lancaster Street there is a short passageway leading to a dead end. This is Stone Court, all that is left of the way to the so-called "Gallows Lot," which was on the slope of the hill, that part of which was called "Jones Hill." Here it was that executions took place in the early days until trials, imprisonments, and executions were held in East Cambridge.

Upland Road, formerly Lambert Avenue, on the northern slope of the hill, running up the hill from Massachusetts Avenue, has changed greatly during the years. Now it is a very busy thoroughfare, and houses, often built to accommodate two or more families, line the street on both sides.

With the increase of building and the loss of open spaces, we have lost our wildflowers and our birds. Years ago the Baltimore orioles built their hanging nests every year in the elms in my yard, the hermit thrushes sang there every spring on their way to their nesting grounds further north, and at dusk the nighthawks were seen and heard. At one time the Audubon Bulletin reported that a member of the Society had had two white-throated sparrows at her feeder the previous winter. I had had six all winter long. Now a robin is seen only occasionally and is seldom heard. English sparrows descend in flocks, and starlings in large numbers waddle about the yard in search of food. The bluejay, once completely barred from my feeder, is now really a welcome sight in his beautiful colors.

THE AVON HOME

By EILEEN G. MEANY

Read October 25, 1960

THE Avon Home opened its doors May 30, 1874, to receive the first of the long line of Cambridge children who have sought its sheltering arms. We might say that the Avon Home was founded the day James Huntington, Harvard Square jeweler, was stirred by the plight of a few Cambridge children whom he knew to be living in bitter poverty, homeless and parentless. Out of Mr. Huntington's pity came a resolution to do something for these little ones, and the action he took resulted in the opening on Avon Place of a small house bearing the name the Orphans' Home for Cambridge Children, a name soon changed to the Avon Place Home, further shortened in 1891 to The Avon Home.

Equipped to care for ten children and staffed by its first matron, Sophia Larkin, the home admitted five children that May 30th in 1874. Soon there were ten, and then children were being turned away, although report has it that for one brief period the walls fairly bulged with fourteen residents. This showed Mr. Huntington he had touched only the surface of the city's need. Just at that moment Mr. Huntington suffered a severe financial setback, and he knew he would have to seek help if the Avon Home was to continue. Once again he acted, this time by calling together nine friends and business associates, listed in early records as

Rev. A. P. Peabody
Rev. D. O. Mears
Mr. B. F. Wyeth
Mrs. H. W. Paine

Mrs. Prof. Lovering
Mrs. I. F. Sanger
Mrs. W. T. Richardson
Mrs. Col. Tyler

Mrs. Henry Thayer

These men and women accepted the challenge and became the first board of trustees when, in November, 1874, the Avon Home was incorporated under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. They chose as their officers Mrs. H. W. Paine, President, Miss I. F. Sanger, Secretary, Mrs. J. M. Tyler, Treasurer.

Those first board members proved themselves exceptionally valiant

men and women as they shared the tasks of administering the home, tasks that ran the gamut from fund raising, policy making, and serving on the committee for the acceptance of children to such ordinary chores as tending furnaces, shoveling snow, or cutting grass when the handyman failed to appear, and to the womanly tasks of sewing and cooking when a household crisis arose. If ever trustees knew they were needed, those trustees did.

The fledgling institution grew and became a popular Cambridge charity. Old records show long lists of donations of money, food, clothing, household furnishings, books, and toys by Cambridge families, and accounts of parties or outings given the children by individuals and groups. In 1877 the Holly Tree Inn purchased and gave to the home an adjoining lot of land on Avon Hill Street to enlarge the playspace. In 1879 the Cambridge Horticultural Society gave a gift of \$300 which became the basis for the Avon Home's permanent fund, a fund which, added to steadily by further gifts, legacies, and sound investment, has grown through the years.

In that same year of 1879 a three-story wing containing a playroom and bedrooms was added to the home. This meant that twenty-five children could be accepted. More funds were needed. Board members, church groups, and individual Cantabrigians rallied to the cause, and in 1880 the first May Fair was held. I am certain that many of you here tonight remember those May Fairs, remember them because you worked for them, or, as excited boys and girls, attended them.

One might well ask who were the children for whom admission to the home was sought eighty-six years ago, why they needed care, and which children the home accepted. There are striking contrasts between that long-ago yesterday and today. For example, in Cambridge in 1874 there were apple orchards in Porter Square, horse-drawn vehicles lumbered through Harvard Square, and Harvard had an enrollment of 1167. How different from the clogged Porter Square, the bumper-to-bumper traffic in Harvard Square, and the Harvard University enrollment of 11,600 we know. Similar contrasts can be made in the field of social welfare.

In 1874 there was a city Welfare Department giving basic financial assistance to the desperately poor. Expenditures that year totaled \$70,536; expenditures in 1959 totaled \$3,516,037.

In 1874 limited private funds were available through such groups as the Cambridge Humane Society, the Howard Benevolent Society, the East Cambridge Female Charitable Society, and the Ladies' Samaritan Society. The Associated Charities, now the Cambridge Family Society, did not appear until 1878. When in those days the death, desertion, or serious illness of one or both parents or culpable neglect of children by alcoholic, immoral, and irresponsible parents meant the break-up of a home, it was customary for relatives to take the children. For some this was a good solution. For others it was no solution at all; the children were not wanted, were an encumbrance. There were also parents who, widowed or deserted and having to work to support their families, were forced to leave children unattended.

It was for children such as these the Avon Home was founded, but with only ten beds in 1874 and twenty-five in 1879 decisions had to be made as to which children could be accepted. Quickly there emerged the following regulations: "Preference shall be given to orphans and foundlings; Secondly, to those whose parents or guardians surrender them to the Trustees for the purpose of adoption, or during minority; and Thirdly, to those not so surrendered. Boys over seven and girls over twelve shall not be admitted, and if practicable, boys over nine and girls over twelve shall not remain in the Home."

The Avon Home at that time was a counterpart of other similar homes throughout the country — a reasonably small house directed by its board of trustees under whom there was a matron, under whom in turn were various other helpers. The children lived together in as nearly a family setting as could be achieved, attended the Peabody School, and went to Sunday school. Medical care was given free by local physicians, among them Drs. Nichols, Vaughan, Stevens, Hildreth, Walcott, Taylor, and McIntire.

The children stayed in the Avon Home for varying periods of time. Some as they grew older left to go to families to live and earn their way, others returned to their own families, and a few went to adoptive homes.

The busy years sped by swiftly. By 1889 the question of the day became Shall we erect a new institution to house thirty-five or forty children? The answer was a clearcut Yes. Chamberlin and Austin drew up plans. The first location considered was a little north of the old home, about opposite the end of Bates Street, but final decision favored purchase

of land at 309 Mount Auburn Street, opposite the Cambridge Hospital, now called the Mount Auburn Hospital. It was with genuine regret the move was made from the warm, friendly neighborhood of Avon Place, but the new building, substantial and spacious, did indeed have a fine setting, and during the next twenty-two years many children spent many happy hours under its roof. The day's routines and the problems the new home faced were pretty much the same as those of the Avon Place years, but there were changes ahead.

These changes had their root in a new social philosophy that asked whether children might be better served if placed to board in families, given a chance to live within a family group. Eager to provide well for its children and stimulated by this new thinking, the Avon Home began as early as 1902 to use a few trial foster homes, although still continuing the institutional program.

Another milestone was passed in 1909, for in that year the board created the position of general secretary — recognition that the home had prospered to the point where its operation demanded the full-time service of one person.

Emma O. Stannard, who was to remain with the Avon Home until her death twenty-four years later, became the first general secretary, and with her coming the office staff was moved from the institution on Mount Auburn Street to rented offices in the Harvard Trust building in Central Square. Miss Stannard continued the dual program of operating both an institution and a foster home program, but the latter demonstrated its worth so clearly that in February, 1913, it was voted to close the institution and transfer all Avon Home children to foster homes. The Avon Home then became what was known as a child-placing agency, and began its march toward becoming what it is today, a case-work agency in the field of child care. The old institution lay idle for several years. The trustees hoped they might obtain funds to operate a small children's hospital, but this never came about and the vacant building burned in 1918.

One other hoped-for project had been the establishment of a farm home for older boys. This hope had been born when in 1892 Mr. Huntington gave to the home Elmwood, a 128-acre farm in Concord. There was never sufficient money for this project, and in 1903 the property was sold.

What did this new program of foster home care mean to the Avon Home? Under its original institutional organization the home had just so many beds into which just so many children could fit. The institution had to limit itself to children within a specific age range and to children whose problems could be handled in congregate living. By using foster homes the home could enlarge its program to include children not previously served. There would be foster parents eager to take the newborn infant; others were willing to open their doors to the toddler or the child of grammar school age. There were those who would reach out to accept the adolescent, even those who might help the disturbed, the delinquent child. Thus the new program meant that many roofs could be placed over many heads. But there was need to ask such questions as: How many children can we help? What are the strengths and weaknesses of foster homes? What skills will a staff need to supervise a foster home program?

Undaunted as their predecessors who had sewed and cooked on Avon Place, the board members and general secretary of 1909 took up their tasks. They and their successors learned by "doing" the answers to their questions, and the foster home program was strengthened and expanded. It is still a major function of the Avon Home although other services were added in time.

The first of these came in 1912 when Cambridge Country Week asked that the Avon Home assume responsibility for placing in country boarding homes 127 needy children, children chosen by Cambridge Country Week for short summer vacations. This arrangement continued until 1920, when Cambridge Country Week, in line with the trends of that time, began sending its children to camps rather than to country homes.

The next two ventures into services other than foster home placement were made possible when the Avon Home in 1917 moved from the Central Square offices to the rambling old Houghton house at 1000 Massachusetts Avenue. Rooms were rented there at first, but the building was purchased by the home in 1923. The first of these two ventures came in the spring of 1918 when, after the well-remembered infantile paralysis epidemic, the Harvard Infantile Paralysis Commission asked the Avon Home to help in giving "after care" to afflicted Cambridge children. This resulted in the establishment of an Infantile Clinic to which Cam-

bridge children could come for physiotherapy, the treatment given by a nurse provided by the Harvard Infantile Paralysis Commission. Avon Home board members generously took on the responsibility of transporting children to and from the clinic, while staff members gave any needed casework service. This too became a thing of the past when in 1940 Mount Auburn Hospital established a polio clinic. A need had been seen, a service given, but it was wiser to relinquish the program to more suitable community auspices.

The opening of the Avon Home Community Center came as a natural outgrowth of the agency's own program. Miss Stannard's 1919 report read in part: "All the children who have been in our care and have been returned to their own homes are placed on our follow-up list and are visited more or less frequently as the case requires. This work meets a great need and is a means of cementing much more closely our relation with our children and their families. In the spring of this year we opened, in connection with our office at 1000 Massachusetts Avenue, two new rooms to be used as play and reading rooms for our follow-up children, mainly those living in the immediate neighborhood. These rooms are a great joy to the children, and so was the land at the back of the building, for as soon as the weather was warm enough the boys were given small plots for vegetable gardens and the girls for flower gardens. The yard was furnished with swings, tilts, and a sandbox, most of these being brought down from our old Home on Mount Auburn Street."

This work grew — garden plots, swings, and tilts gave way to Scout Troops, handwork classes, dancing, and music lessons; but when in 1943 the city set up nearby a supervised playground, and Scout troops were overlapping, the Avon Home decided another service should end, and the center was closed.

In 1934 the Avon Home welcomed its second general secretary, Esther J. Stuart, who remained until her retirement in 1956. It was during her first years with the agency that the Infantile Clinic was transferred to Mount Auburn Hospital and the Community Center closed. She strengthened foster care services and led the Avon Home into membership in the Child Welfare League of America, the Cambridge Community Federation (now Cambridge Community Services), the Greater Boston Community Fund (now United Fund). She saw, too, that the agency participated actively in state and national societies, such as the

Massachusetts Conference of Social Work and the National Conference of Social Welfare.

Now the years between 1909, when Emma O. Stannard became general secretary of the Avon Home, and 1934, when Esther Stuart succeeded her, brought further great changes in the social work scene mainly because of two developments: first, the strengthening and enlargement of public welfare programs; and second, the emergence of social work as a profession. The former brought about both a change in the reasons why children needed foster care and a shifting of responsibility for care of certain children by private agencies such as the Avon Home to public agencies. For example, by 1934 children of widowed or deserted mothers could remain in their own homes with the local Board of Public Welfare given financial assistance, while the totally dependent child, the child of neglectful, irresponsible parents, the child orphaned or deserted, could be absorbed in state foster care programs. Thus agencies such as the Avon Home were able to expand their work to include acceptance of the delinquent child who could benefit from intensive case work and to accept in greater numbers children who could be released for adoption, a then rapidly growing and specialized field of social work.

Serving the delinquent child has been both discouraging and rewarding, for the delinquent's problems are deep-seated, often hard to reach. Time and experience has shown that almost none of these boys and girls can be helped by placement in foster homes; rather they need placement in specialized institutions and small group homes, placements that offer, in addition to general care, psychiatric evaluation and therapy. The cost of this is high, but who can put a price upon the life of a child? The Avon Home has placed a limited number of children in these programs. Finances did not permit more.

And now for the adoption story. The Avon Home first placed a child for adoption in 1878, and from that time to 1934 twenty-three children went to adoptive parents. Since 1934, two hundred and eighteen children have been placed in adoptive homes, twelve of them Negro children.

In 1940 there was an exciting deviation. Those were the dark days when it seemed that England might be invaded by her enemies, days in which families here offered refuge to English children. The relaxation of immigration laws made it possible for large groups of these children to enter this country, but because the United States was responsible to the

British Crown for their welfare, a few children's agencies were selected to carry the responsibility of supervising these youngsters in their American homes. The Avon Home was one of these agencies. The transplanting of these English children seemed a tremendous task. There were ups and downs, joys and heartaches, but the scales tipped in favor of happy endings, and eventually all these youngsters returned to their homes.

In 1945 the Avon Home sold the big building at 1000 Massachusetts Avenue, and moved to an office setting of four rooms in the Cambridge Community Services building at 53 Church Street. Out of the fifteen years already spent at this address has come today's five-fold program: consultation for parents or adults who need advice in dealing with a child-centered problem; placement of children in foster homes or specialized programs; casework service to unmarried mothers; adoption; and work with children in their own homes.

As of this morning the Avon Home family was made up of seventy-two boys and girls, all Cambridge children of all races and creeds, aged five days to seventeen years. Some of these children are illegitimate, some are from homes broken by illness, divorce, or separation, and some are delinquent adolescents. Each boy or girl will be served for as brief or as long a period as need requires. For each there will be an individual plan, one that could take the child into a foster home as far north as Billerica, as far south as Plymouth, as far west as Natick, or to a school or institution in Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, or Connecticut, or to an adoptive home even farther afield.

And while we work with and for these boys and girls, we work also with their parents. Usually the parents who turn to the Avon Home have experienced breakdowns in family life, may have erred or failed, may need as much help as their child or children. The unmarried mother needs guidance to reach a decision as to whether to surrender or keep her baby, an ill parent needs encouragement and support. The parents of a delinquent teen-ager need a different type of counseling.

Time does not permit that I share with you even a few stories of Avon Home children. If it did, I could tell you of a stalwart, twenty-four-year-old paratrooper who, when he came to the Avon Home as a ten-month-old baby, had congenital club feet. I could tell you of Evelyn, now wife, mother, and community leader, who at thirteen was a truant and a runaway. There would be George, who at ten was so disturbed by

his family situation — a deserting father, an alcoholic mother, and home conditions of utter filth and squalor — that he needed an extended period of therapy in a hospital setting, but who today is a college graduate, a trained dairy farmer.

You may ask how the Avon Home has been and is financed. The answer is by private contributions large and small, by legacies, by May Fairs, by careful investment of those contributions and earnings, and in recent times by allocations from the United Fund. The parents of Avon Home children contribute what they can toward the cost of their children's care, but very few can meet anywhere near full cost. Most can do little, a few nothing.

Compressing the Avon Home story into less than a half hour necessarily leaves much unsaid, much to be read between the lines. As a matter of fact, the full story can never be told, for there is no way of determining the number of children who since 1874 have knocked on the agency door. Neither is there any way of measuring the service each received, nor of computing the number of persons who as devoted board members, dedicated staff workers, loving foster parents, and interested friends have made that service possible.

In closing, I should like to list the names of the presidents who have led the Avon Home down the years. These were:

Mrs. Henry W. Paine	1874 to 1887
Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D.	1887 to 1893
William Taggard Piper	1893 to 1911
William W. Dallinger	1913 to 1924
Charles H. Montague	1925 to 1930
Clinton P. Biddle	1930 to 1939
John C. Baker	1939 to 1945
Hans L. Carstensen	1945 to 1957

Today's President, Stanley H. Lawton, has served since 1957.



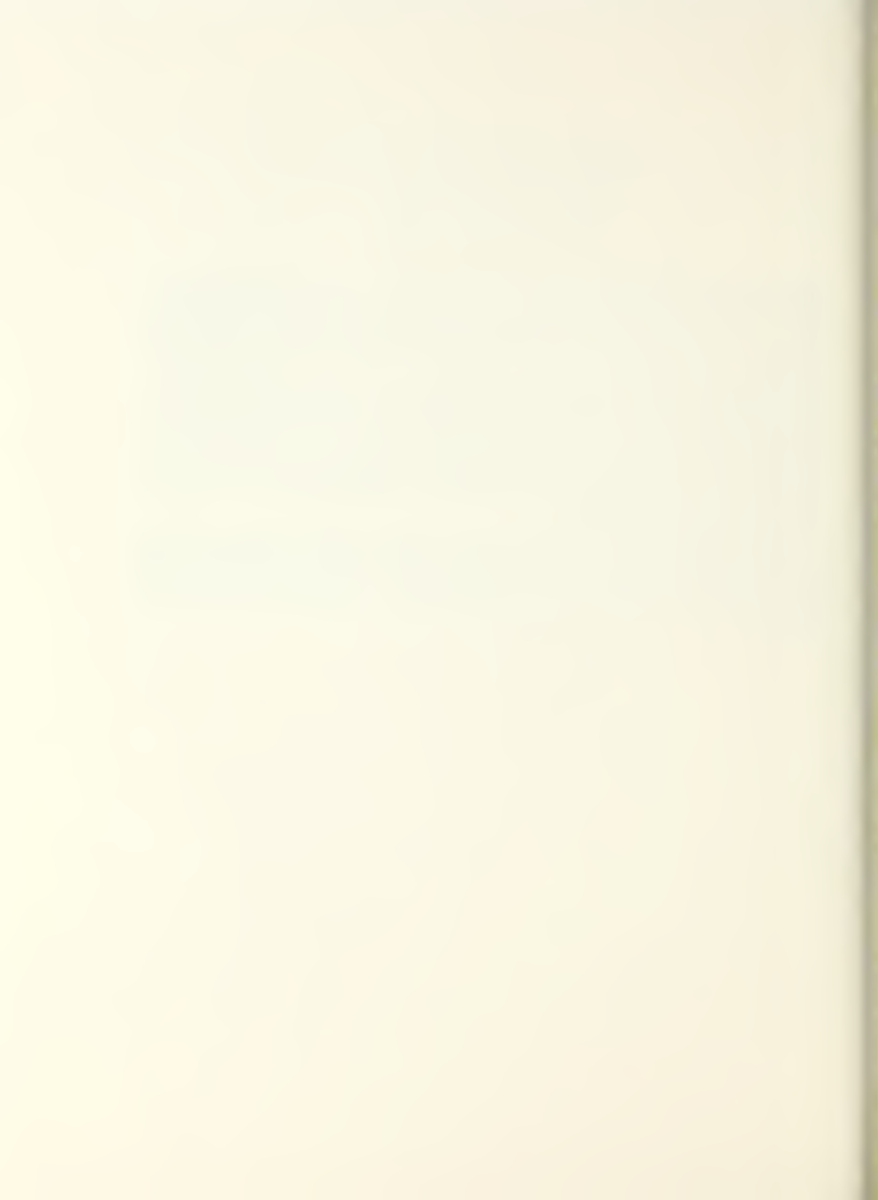
BREMER WHIDDEN POND

By LOIS LILLEY HOWE

Read October 27, 1959

BREMER Whidden Pond, former Secretary of the Cambridge Historical Society, died September 2, 1959, in Hanover, New Hampshire. Born in Boston in 1884, Bremer Pond graduated from Dartmouth College in 1906, and then came to Harvard, where he became Master of Landscape Architecture in 1906. Later he served as secretary to the distinguished landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead. In 1915 he opened his own office in Boston. For many years before his retirement in 1950, he served as Charles Eliot Professor of Landscape Architecture and Chairman of the Department of Landscape Architecture in the Harvard Graduate School of Design.

Among Mr. Pond's work were the years for Colby Junior College, Southern Methodist University, the University of New Hampshire, and the Tuck Drive at Hanover, New Hampshire. Members of the society remember with affection and gratitude his years of service as their secretary.



ANNUAL REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1959

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held on Tuesday, January 27, at the Radcliffe Graduate Center. Mr. John W. Wood, the first vice-president, presided. The annual reports of the secretary and treasurer were accepted as read. Mr. Sterling Dow gave the first annual report of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar.

Mr. Arthur Sutherland read a biography of David T. Pottinger, president of this Society from 1955 until his death in November 1958. This memorial was published in Volume 37 of the Society's *Proceedings*.

Mr. Dows Dunham presented the report of the nominating committee. The report was accepted and the secretary cast one vote in favor of the slate.

The speaker of the evening was Mr. Charles P. Whitlock, Assistant to the President of Harvard University. His title was "Harvard Plans for the Future." He emphasized two facts which have influenced these plans: (1) that Cambridge has become a city with big city problems; (2) that the university land holdings have not been greatly increased since the time of President Eliot, and so require replanning for maximum use. Mr. Whitlock showed drawings, photographs, and maps of new plans and of buildings to be remodeled.

The spring meeting was held on Tuesday, April 28, at the Lee-Nichols House. Mrs. George W. Howe, the president, presided. The series of changes in the charter and the by-laws to conform with the new

responsibilities due to the gift of the Lee-Nichols House was finally completed by vote. The speaker was Miss Margery S. Foster, Assistant to the President of Mount Holyoke College and Lecturer in Economics. She spoke on the "Cost of a Harvard Education in the Puritan Period." Her statistics brought out the fact that a college education has been an expensive item in every generation.

The garden party meeting was held at four o'clock on Tuesday, May 26, at the Lee-Nichols House. A paper was given on the "Harvard Branch Railroad" by Mr. Robert W. Lovett of the Baker Library, Harvard Business School. The Harvard Branch was three-quarters of a mile long, a single track with sidings, running from the main line of the Fitchburg Railroad in Somerville to the Cambridge Common. Built by a group of civic-minded citizens, the line was operated for six years, 1849-1855, and then was sold at auction because of financial difficulties.

The autumn meeting was held on Tuesday, October 27, at the Lee-Nichols House. The president read an obituary written by Miss Lois Lilley Howe in honor of Bremer Whidden Pond, who died in September. Mr. Pond was a distinguished landscape architect and a former secretary of this Society, 1944-1947. He named the Cambridge Historical Society as one of the residuary legatees in his will and left silver and furniture from his Cambridge apartment for use in the Lee-Nichols House. The speaker was Mrs. John H. Williams of Cambridge who read a paper on Margaret Fuller entitled "A Life of Storms." Mrs. Williams sketched the historical background of the writers and philosophers of the early nineteenth century in Cambridge and Concord, and gave a sympathetic account of this remarkable young Cambridge woman of letters while in this country and later in Europe.

The Council held five meetings during the year, and by its vote the Lee-Nichols House has been open to visitors every Thursday afternoon except on holidays.

Mrs. Howe appointed a committee with Miss Mabel Colgate as chairman to select the gift made by friends of Mr. Pottinger. A silver teapot and sugar and creamer made in Boston by Bigelow Brothers before 1840 was purchased.

In June, Widener Library needed for expansion of its archives the storage space in its basement generously loaned to this Society for many years. A committee of the Council with Mr. Sterling Dow made basic

recommendations for future care of our collection of books, pictures, and historic materials. A full report on the collection will be ready at a later date.

We have received gifts of plant material and many hours of labor in the garden from members of the Cambridge Garden Club.

The Council adopted plans for further restoration of the Lee-Nichols House. For these we are indebted to Mrs. Ross and Mr. Abbott Cummings of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities for their advice. We are grateful to Mr. William Young of the Museum of Fine Arts for his continued help in the problem of preservation of the French wallpapers. Mr. Robert Henderson, chairman of restoration and repairs; Mr. William Payson, our legal advisor; Mrs. George Roorbach's house committee; Mrs. Sterling Dow's committee on gifts and the Thursday afternoon hostesses organized by Miss Noyes and Miss Almy have given generously of their time. And lastly to Mrs. George W. Howe, who served as our interim president so ably, so tactfully, and so graciously, we owe our deepest gratitude.

Respectfully submitted
ANNA D. HOLLAND
Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1960

THE FIFTY-FIFTH annual meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held on Tuesday, January 26, 1960, at quarter past eight o'clock in the Longfellow House. Mrs. Howe, the president, presided. The secretary's report and that of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, Mr. Sterling Dow, were read and accepted. The treasurer's report was placed on file. The report of the nominating committee was read by Mr. Evarts, and after the secretary had cast a vote in its favor, Mr. William L. Payson became our seventh president and was presented to the Society.

Mr. Richard W. Hall read a lighthearted paper, though a bit nostalgic, entitled "Recollections of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club." Its forerunner, the Dramatic Club, started in 1876, had to disband in 1885. It was revived with a new name under favorable circumstances in 1891 and carried on brilliantly for a while until changing times caused it to dissolve again in 1950. Even so, it was one of the three oldest dramatic societies in the country.

The spring meeting was held on April 26 at the Lee-Nichols House, at which Miss Jeannette E. Graustein, Professor Emeritus of Biological Sciences at the University of Delaware, spoke on "Natural History at Harvard, 1788-1842." The study of natural history was one result of the beginning of instruction in medicine at the college, as plants were the chief source of medicine, or as it was then called, physic. Miss Graustein carried the story from the beginning under Dr. Waterhouse through Professor William D. Peck and Thomas Nuttall up to the appointment of Asa Gray.

The May 24 meeting at the Lee-Nichols House was well attended in spite of the rain. The Reverend John A. Harrer, Librarian of the Congregational Library, spoke on "Jose Glover and the Beginnings of the Cambridge Press." The wealthy Mr. Glover bought a printing press, engaged the Days, father and son, to run it, and accompanied by them and his family sailed from England for Boston in 1638. Unfortunately he died on the trip, but the Days carried on. The second part of Mr. Harrer's paper dealt with the method of printing and with some of the famous books printed on the press.

The October 25 meeting was held at the Lee-Nichols House. Mrs.

Henry H. Saunderson, a member of long standing, read a delightful paper on her childhood in the Avon Hill district, then called the "Cambridge Heights." This was followed by an interesting and informative paper on the "Story of the Avon Home" by Miss Eileen G. Meany, General Secretary of the Home.

The Council met three times during the year, in February, June, and October. At the first meeting, the president announced the membership of the standing committees, and the programs for the year were settled. At the later meetings what had been accomplished was summed up and new steps were decided on.

The restoration of the front hall and stairs under the supervision of Mrs. J. Clifford Ross and Mr. Abbott L. Cummings, started in the fall of 1959, was completed in January and gave a brighter welcome to all who entered the house. Another restoration, exhibited at the October meeting, was of the portrait of Washington Allston by Chester Harding which had been bequeathed to the Society by Mrs. Gozzaldi. Portraits by Chester Harding are now held in high esteem, and we are fortunate to have this one.

On January 19, Mrs. Howe, Miss Noyes, and Mrs. Holland gave a tea party for the forty-odd members who had served as hostesses on the Thursday afternoons during the summer and the fall when the house was open. The silver tea set given in memory of Mr. Pottinger, used for the first time, drew much admiration, as also did the grandfather clock bequeathed by Mr. Pond. This was a friendly affair, and we became better acquainted with one another.

On March 31 the Council held a small tea party for Mrs. Harold Pulsifer of New York, born Susan Nichols. She is a descendant of the George Nichols from whom our House received the second half of its name. Her father as a little boy listened to his father's bed-time stories, a collection of which Miss Lois Lilley Howe gave us a copy. Mrs. Pulsifer was very much interested in the house and read to us from some of the family diaries. We hope to have her come again and tell us more.

We are grateful to our officers and committee members for guiding us through this successful year, to our hosts and hostesses for making our meetings so pleasant, and to our Thursday afternoon hostesses for giving so generously of their time.

Respectfully submitted,
ANNA D. HOLLAND
Secretary

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1959

Statement of Income and Expenses Year Ended December 31, 1959

Income:

Investments:

Savings bank interest	\$ 388.93	
Bond interest	836.02	
Dividends on common stocks	<u>1,392.96</u>	\$2,617.91

Operations:

Membership dues	\$1,259.00	
Guest and admission fees	85.50	
Sale of publications	6.50	
Miscellaneous sales	227.16	
Voluntary donations	645.00	
Contributions in memory of David T. Pottinger	35.00	
Special donations	2,750.00	
Transferred from general fund	<u>1,000.00</u>	6,008.16
		<u>\$8,626.07</u>

Operating expense:

Operations:

Meetings	\$ 412.05	
Clerical and postage	268.65	
Printing and stationery	120.00	
Proceedings	1,257.93	
Miscellaneous	<u>487.89</u>	\$2,546.52

Real estate, 159 Brattle Street:

Repairs and maintenance	\$4,186.28	
Insurance	257.40	
Acquisitions	<u>282.87</u>	4,726.55
		<u>7,273.07</u>

Net income for the year \$1,353.00

Deduct:

Addition to structural repair fund 2,000.00

Excess of expense over income for the year \$ 647.00

*Statement of Changes in Funds
Year Ended December 31, 1959*

Permanent Fund

Balance, January 1, 1959	\$54,831.23
No change	
Balance, December 31, 1959	<u>\$54,831.23</u>

General Fund

Balance, January 1, 1959	\$10,718.18
Deductions:	
Excess of expense over income	
for the year	\$ 647.00
Transferred to income	<u>1,000.00</u> <u>1,647.00</u>
Balance, December 31, 1959	<u>\$ 9,071.18</u>

Plant Fund

Balance, January 1, 1959	\$ 1,004.00
Addition:	
Appropriation from net income	
to Structural Repair Fund	<u>2,000.00</u>
Balance, December 31, 1959	<u>\$ 3,004.00</u>

Total Funds

Balance, January 1, 1959	\$66,553.41
Net addition	<u>353.00</u>
Balance, December 31, 1959	<u>\$66,906.41</u>

Statement of Assets and Funds
December 31, 1959

Assets

Permanent Fund Assets:

Savings account \$ 1,220.59

Bonds, at cost,

Market value \$23,074

Stocks, at cost,

Market value \$41,281

24,162.54

29,448.10

\$54,831.23

General Fund Assets:

Savings account

\$ 3,956.76

Bonds, at cost,

Market value \$3,063 ..

Cash in checking ac-

count

2,046.92

9,071.18

Plant Fund Assets:

(Non-cash items at nominal values for record purposes)

Savings account

\$ 3,000.00

Land

1.00

Buildings

1.00

Furniture and fixtures ..

1.00

Collections et cetera ...

1.00

3,004.00

\$66,906.41

Funds

Permanent Funds:

Restricted principal:

Cook bequest

\$ 1,006.67

Emerson bequest

20,000.00

Life membership fund ...

1,325.00

\$22,331.67

Unrestricted principal:

Bequests and donations ...

\$19,319.89

Unexpended income

10,722.04

Capital gains

2,457.63

\$54,831.23

General Fund:

General fund

9,071.18

Plant Fund:

Structural repair fund

\$ 3,000.00

Emerson bequest

2.00

Plant fund

2.00

3,004.00

\$66,906.41

Oakes I. Ames, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1960

Statement of Income and Expenses *Year Ended December 31, 1960*

Income:

Investments:

Savings bank interest	\$ 314.47	\$
Bond interest	1,088.75	
Dividends on common stocks	1,528.43	2,931.65
	<hr/>	
Deduct — Bond premiums written off		255.99
Net Income from investments		<hr/> 2,675.66

Operations:

Member dues	1,237.00	
Guest and admission fees	86.49	
Sale of publications	363.07	
Miscellaneous sales	2.55	
Voluntary donations	655.00	
Special donations	2,185.13	4,529.24
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Income		\$7,204.90

Operating expense:

Operations:

Meetings	\$ 427.56	
Clerical and postage	216.24	
Printing and stationery	140.45	
Proceedings — Index	220.00	
Miscellaneous	416.97	1,421.22
	<hr/>	
Real estate — 159 Brattle Street:		
Repairs and maintenance	1,471.43	
Insurance	441.85	
Miscellaneous	7.16	1,920.44
	<hr/>	
Total operating expense		<hr/> \$3,341.66
Net income for the year		<hr/> \$3,863.24
Deduct:		
Addition to structural repair fund		<hr/> 1,500.00
Balance of income for the year		<hr/> <hr/> \$2,363.24

Statement of Changes in Funds
Year Ended December 31, 1960

Permanent Fund

Balance, January 1, 1960	\$54,831.23
Addition:	
Capital gains	<u>1,335.07</u>
Balance, December 31, 1960	<u><u>\$56,166.30</u></u>

General Fund

Balance, January 1, 1960	\$ 9,071.18
Addition:	
Excess of income over expense	
for the year	<u>2,363.24</u>
Balance, December 31, 1960	<u><u>\$11,434.42</u></u>

Plant Fund

Balance, January 1, 1960	\$ 3,004.00
Addition:	
Appropriation from net income	
to structural repair fund	<u>1,500.00</u>
Balance, December 31, 1960	<u><u>\$ 4,504.00</u></u>

Total Funds

Balance, January 1, 1960	\$66,906.41
Net addition	<u>5,198.31</u>
Balance, December 31, 1960	<u><u>\$72,104.72</u></u>

December 31, 1960
Statement of Assets and Funds

Assets

Permanent Fund Assets:

Savings Account	\$ 1,632.25
Bonds, at lower of cost or par (Market value \$23,970)	23,974.05
Common stocks, at cost (Market value \$42,833)	30,560.00
	<u>\$56,166.30</u>

General Fund Assets:

Savings account	6,024.26
Bonds, at lower of cost or par (Market value \$3,195)	3,000.00
Cash in checking ac- count	<u>2,410.16</u>
	11,434.42

Plant Fund Assets:

(Non-cash items at nominal value for record purposes)	
Savings account	4,500.00
Land	1.00
Buildings	1.00
Furniture and fixtures ..	1.00
Collections, et cetera	1.00
	<u>4,504.00</u>
	<u>\$72,104.72</u>

Funds

Permanent Funds:

Restricted principal:	
Cook bequest	\$ 1,006.67
Emerson bequest	20,000.00
Life membership fund ...	<u>1,325.00</u>
	\$22,331.67
Unrestricted principal:	
Bequests and donations ...	\$19,319.89
Unexpended income	<u>10,722.04</u>
Capital gains	30,041.93
	<u>3,792.70</u>
	\$56,166.30

General Fund:

General fund	11,434.42
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Plant Fund:

Structural repair fund	4,500.00
Emerson bequest	2.00
Plant fund	<u>2.00</u>
	4,504.00
	<u>\$72,104.72</u>

Oakes I. Ames, *Treasurer*

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE
CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS:

I have examined the statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1959, and the related statements of income and expense, and changes in funds for the year then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion, the accompanying statement of assets and funds and related statements of income and expense and changes in funds present fairly the financial condition of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1959, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT A. CUSHMAN
Certified Public Accountant

Cambridge, Massachusetts
January 15, 1960

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE
CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS:

I have examined the statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1960, and the related statements of income and expense and changes in funds for the year then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion, the accompanying statement of assets and funds and the related statements of income and expense and changes in funds present fairly the financial conditions of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1960, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year, except for the write-off of bond premiums against income, which has my approval.

ROBERT A. CUSHMAN
Certified Public Accountant

Cambridge, Massachusetts
January 21, 1961

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1959, 1960

Caroline Elizabeth Ayer (Mrs. R. W.)

Albright

Raymond Wolf Albright

Margaret Wilder (Mrs. P. F.) Alles

Paul Frost Alles

Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. C.) Almy

Mary Almy

Harriet Hastings (Mrs. O. I.) Ames

James Barr Ames

Mary Ogden (Mrs. J. B.) Ames

Oakes Ingalls Ames

John Bradshaw Atkinson

Louise Marie (Mrs. J. B.) Atkinson

*Catherine Smith (Mrs. D. W.) Bailey

David Washburn Bailey

Ellen Nealley (Mrs. G.) Bailey

Gage Bailey

Helen Diman (Mrs. I. W.) Bailey

Frances Josephine Baker

Alethea Pew (Mrs. E. J.) Barnard

Edmund Johnson Barnard

Ruth Richards (Mrs. A.) Beane

Ralph Beatley

Pierre Belliveau

Frank Aloysius Kenney Boland

Velma Louise Gibson (Mrs. F. A. K.)

Boland

Charles Stephen Bolster

Elizabeth Winthrop (Mrs. C. S.) Bolster

Sylvia Church (Mrs. I.) Bowditch

Florence Royer (Mrs. W. H.) Bradley

Laura Post (Mrs. S. A.) Breed

Mary MacArthur (Mrs. K.) Bryan

McGeorge Bundy

Mary Lothrop (Mrs. McG.) Bundy

Eleanor Sheridan (Mrs. D. E.) Burr

Douglas Bush

Hazel Cleaver (Mrs. D.) Bush

Bernice Cannon

Paul DeWitt Caskey

Ruth Blackman (Mrs. P. D.) Caskey

Alice Channing

Louise Fletcher (Mrs. C. L.) Chase

Dudley Clapp

Helen Sheldon (Mrs. D.) Clapp

(A) Roger Saunders Clapp

(A) Winifred Irwin (Mrs. R. S.) Clapp

Arthur Harrison Cole

Anna Stechel (Mrs. A. H.) Cole

(L) Mabel Hall Colgate

Mary Conlan

John Phillips Collidge

Mary Elizabeth Welch (Mrs. J. P.)

Coolidge

Theresa Reynolds (Mrs. J. L.) Coolidge

Phyllis Byrne (Mrs. G.) Cox

Katharine Foster Crothers

Esther Lanman (Mrs. R. A.) Cushman

Robert Adams Cushman

Sally Adams (Mrs. C. F.) Cushman

Richard Ammi Cutter

Ruth Dexter Grew (Mrs. R. A.) Cutter

John Francis Davis

Margaret Finck (Mrs. J. F.) Davis

* Died

** Resigned

(A) Associate Member

(L) Life member

- Gardiner Mumford Day
 Cecil Thayer Derry
 Thomas Henri De Valcourt
 Arthur Stone Dewing
 Frances H. Rousmanier (Mrs. A. S.)
 Dewing
 Frank Currier Doble
 Helen Dadmun (Mrs. F. C.) Doble
 Frances Cooper-Marshall (Mrs. J.)
 Donovan
 James Donovan
 Elizabeth Flagg (Mrs. S.) Dow
 Ethel Dora Appleton (Mrs. G. L.) Dow
 George Lincoln Dow
 Sterling Dow
 Arthur Drinkwater
 Dows Dunham
 Marion Jessie (Mrs. D.) Dunham
 James Morse Dunning
 Mae Bradford (Mrs. J. M.) Dunning
 Aldrich Durant
 (L) Ethel Harding (Mrs. F. C.) Durant
 Faith Lamman (Mrs. A.) Durant
 Eleanor Clark (Mrs. O.) Earle
 Osborne Earle
 Charles William Eliot, 2nd
 Regina Dodge (Mrs. C. W.) Eliot
 Mary Fife (Mrs. L. E.) Emerson
 Mary Lillian (Mrs. R. C.) Everts
 Richard Conover Everts
 Pearl Brock Fabrney
 Marian Carter Thomson (Mrs. R. M.)
 Faulkner
 Richard Manning Faulkner
 Hester Lawrence (Mrs. R. D.) Fay
 Richard Dudley Fay
 Eleanor Tyson Cope (Mrs. H. W.) Foote
 Henry Wilder Foote
 Edward Waldo Forbes
 Lois Whitney (Mrs. A. B.) Forbes
 Alden Simonds Foss
 Dorothy Tenney (Mrs. A. S.) Foss
 (A) Francis Aptborp Foster
 Ingeborg Gade Frick
 Claire MacIntyre (Mrs. R. N.) Ganz
 Robert Norton Ganz
 *Alice Howland (Mrs. H. G.) Garrett
 Catherine Ruggles (Mrs. H. G.) Gerrish
 Hollis Guptill Gerrish
 Henry Lathrop Gilbert
 Priscilla Brown (Mrs. H. L.) Gilbert
 Roger Gilman
 Robert Lincoln Goodale
 Susan Sturgis (Mrs. R. L.) Goodale
 Charles Chauncey Gray
 Pauline De Friez (Mrs. C. C.) Gray
 Dusser de Barenne (Mrs. J. D.) Greene
 *Jerome Davis Greene
 (L) Helen McQuesten (Mrs. P.) Gring
 Addison Gulick
 Margaret Buckingham (Mrs. A.) Gulick
 Lillian Helen (Mrs. T.) Hadley
 Edward Everett Hale
 Helen Holmes (Mrs. E. E.) Hale
 Rufus Frost Hale
 Tacie Belle Houston (Mrs. R. F.) Hale
 Constance Huntington Hall
 Richard Wakworth Hall
 Amy deGozzaldi (Mrs. R. W.) Hall
 *Franklin Tweed Hammond
 *Charles Lane Hanson
 *Mary Caroline Hardy
 Mary Louise Perry (Mrs. R. W.)
 Harwood
 Christina Doyle (Mrs. R. H.) Haynes
 Robert Hammond Haynes
 Florence Wilhelmina (Mrs. N.) Heard
 Lucy Gregory (Mrs. R. G.) Henderson
 Robert Graham Henderson
 Albert Frederick Hill
 **Dorothy Woodbridge (Mrs. G. G.)
 Hill
 **Gordon Green Hill
 Georgiana Ames (Mrs. T. L.) Hinckley
 Janet Elliott (Mrs. R. B.) Hobart
 Richard Bryant Hobart
 Anna Coolidge Davenport (Mrs. C. M.)
 Holland
 George Wright Howe
 Lois Lilley Howe
 Rosamond Coolidge (Mrs. G. W.) Howe
 Elsie Powell (Mrs. E.) Ingraham
 Dorothy Judd (Mrs. Wm. A.) Jackson
 **Pauline Fay (Mrs. A. L.) Jackson
 William Alexander Jackson
 (L) Constance Bouwé (Mrs. H. A.) Jenks

- (L) Henry Angier Jenks
 Llewellyn Jones
 Susan Wilbur (Mrs. L.) Jones
 Frances Ruml (Mrs. W. K.) Jordan
 Wilbur Kitchener Jordan
 Albert Guy Keith
 (L) Theodora Keith
 Frederick Hammond Knight
 Lucy Harrison (Mrs. F. H.) Knight
 Louise Higgins Langenberg
 Rowena Morse (Mrs. Wm. L.) Langer
 William Leonard Langer
 Marion Florence Lansing
 (A) Susan Taber Low
 Dorothy St. John Manks
 James Watt Mavor
 Gladys Smyth (Mrs. R.) May
 Ralph May
 Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K. D.) Metcalf
 Keyes De Witt Metcalf
 Alva Morrison
 Amy Gallagher (Mrs. A.) Morrison
 James Buell Munn
 Ruth Crosby Hanford (Mrs. J. B.) Munn
 Elizabeth Dunham (Mrs. G. H.) Nadel
 George Hares Nadel
 Elizabeth Flint (Mrs. F. H.) Nesmith
 Edwin Broomell Newman
 Mary Beaumont (Mrs. E. B.) Newman
 Grace Wyeth (Mrs. A. P.) Norris
 John Torrey Norton
 Rose Eleanor Demon (Mrs. J. T.) Norton
 Penelope Barker Noyes
 Joseph A. O'Gorman
 Isabel Marchant (Mrs. W. G.) O'Neil
 Walter George O'Neil
 Doris Madelyn (Mrs. F. M.) Palmer
 Foster McCrum Palmer
 Nancy Johnson (Mrs. S. B.) Parker
 Stanley Brampton Parker
 Frederica Watson (Mrs. Wm. L.) Payson
 William Lincoln Payson
 Barbara Welch (Mrs. E.) Peabody
 Marion Hilton Pike
 Elizabeth Bridge Piper
 Mary Friedlander (Mrs. J. S.) Plaut
 *(L) Bremer Whidden Pond
 Lucy Kingsley (Mrs. A. K.) Porter
 Faith Eddy (Mrs. J. M.) Potter
 Mildred Stone (Mrs. D. T.) Pottinger
 **Alice Edmands Putnam
 *Mary Clement Parker (Mrs. H. W.)
 Read
 Fred Norris Robinson
 George Irwin Robrbough
 Martha Fraser (Mrs. G. I.) Robrbough
 Alfred Sherwood Romer
 Ruth Hibbard (Mrs. A. S.) Romer
 Anne Elizabeth Hubble (Mrs. G. B.)
 Roorbach
 Gertrude Swan (Mrs. J. C.) Runkle
 Paul Joseph Sachs
 Charles Rodney Sage
 Marjorie Llewellyn (Mrs. C. R.) Sage
 Agnes Goldman (Mrs. A.) Sanborn
 Cyrus Ashton Rollins Sanborn
 Edward Joseph Samp, Jr.
 Laura Dudley (Mrs. H. H.) Saunderson
 Erwin Haskell Schell
 Esther Sidelinger (Mrs. E. H.) Schell
 (L) Edgar Vigers Seeler, Jr.
 (L) Katherine PerLee (Mrs. E. V.)
 Seeler, Jr.
 Eugenia Jackson (Mrs. P. P.) Sharples
 Philip Price Sharples
 Mary Frances Trafton (Mrs. J. L.)
 Simonds
 John Langdon Simonds
 Elizabeth Copley Singleton
 Carol Mary Smith
 Clement Andrew Smith
 Edna Stevenson (Mrs. W.) Smith
 *(L) Margaret Beal Earhart (Mrs. C. A.)
 Smith
 William Stevenson Smith
 Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr.
 Marian Elizabeth (Mrs. C. D.) Steele, Jr.
 Katharine Ladd Storey (Mrs. T. L.)
 Storer
 Theodore Lyman Storer
 Lura Gaston (Mrs. G. S.) Summers
 Arthur Eugene Sutherland
 Mary Elizabeth Genung (Mrs. A. E.)
 Sutherland
 Ellamae McKee (Mrs. W. D.) Swan
 William Donnison Swan

<i>Helen Ingersoll Tetlow</i>	<i>Walter Muir Whitehill</i>
<i>Priscilla Gough (Mrs. R.) Treat</i>	<i>Charles Frederick Whiting</i>
<i>Robert Treat</i>	<i>Amos Niven Wilder</i>
<i>(L) Eleanor Gray (Mrs. H. D.) Tudor</i>	<i>Catherine Kerlin (Mrs. A. N.) Wilder</i>
<i>(L) Mary Wellington (Mrs. K. S.) Usher</i>	<i>Constance Bigelow Williston</i>
<i>Mabel Henderson (Mrs. W. E.)</i>	<i>Grace Davenport (Mrs. H. J.) Winslow</i>
<i>Vandermark</i>	<i>Henry Joshua Winslow</i>
<i>John Reed Walden</i>	<i>Henry Wise</i>
<i>Marjory Howland (Mrs. M. H.) Walter</i>	<i>Pearl (Mrs. H.) Wise</i>
<i>*Olive Ely Allen (Mrs. F. D.) Washborn</i>	<i>Alice Russell (Mrs. J. W.) Wood</i>
<i>Henry Bradford Washburn</i>	<i>*(A) John Russell Wood</i>
<i>Marguerite Bigelow (Mrs. W. B.)</i>	<i>John William Wood</i>
<i>Webster</i>	<i>Charles Conrad Wright</i>
<i>William Burton Webster</i>	<i>Elizabeth Hilgendorff (Mrs. C. C.)</i>
<i>Harriet Eaton (Mrs. T. N.) Whitehead</i>	<i>Wright</i>
<i>Thomas North Whitehead</i>	<i>Elizabeth Woodman (Mrs. C. H. C.)</i>
<i>Jane Revere Coolidge (Mrs. W. M.)</i>	<i>Wright</i>
<i>Whitehill</i>	

HECKMAN
BINDERY INC.



JUL 90

N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962

